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THE
GRECIAN
HISTORY.

From the End of the PELOPONNESIAN
WAR, to the Death of PHILIP of
MACEDON.

By TEMPLE STANYAN, Esq;
IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

Containing the Space of Sixty-Eight Years.

A NEW EDITION.

L O N D O N:

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M DCC LXXXI.

THE
GERMAN
HISTORY





P R E F A C E.

HAVING promised a second volume of this history when I published the first, it is now become a debt of so many years standing, that I do not know whether the bare discharging it will be thought sufficient, without saying something in excuse for my having deferred it so long. And yet upon second thoughts, I believe I might easily have been forgiven, if I had never discharged it: For the world is not so rigid in demanding debts of this kind as we authors imagine. But to deal plainly, I have been many years employed in business of another kind; though I must confess it has been with very little advantage to

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the public or myself; and much less do I propose any great benefit to arise to either from this undertaking. However, it has served to shift the scene a little, and to gratify my own inclinations, in renewing my acquaintance with those studies which I have formerly pursued.

I have pleased myself with the thoughts of doing some sort of justice to the memory of a race of worthies, who may be called the first Assertors of public liberty: And if I have not succeeded so well in it as I could wish, I hope it will be imputed rather to the nature of the subject, than to any want of my endeavours. In the former part of this history, I did not find it an easy task to take off that veil of *fable* and *fiction*, which has been thrown over the first ages of *Greece*, and to introduce, in the room of it something like the *colouring* of history. And even in the later times, which are called *historical*, I have met with too much intricacy and confusion in the treating of so many separate states, in unravelling their different interests, in describing their different manners and customs, and forms of government, and in connecting the whole with the body of the story.

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In the progress of this work, I have found more difficulties of this kind than I apprehended at my first entrance upon it; and it is that which, I believe, has chiefly discouraged others from undertaking it. For I cannot otherwise conceive how it should happen, that the history of a country, which has been the scene of so much action within itself, and which has given birth to so many great events in other parts of the world, should be so much neglected. I do not mean that it has been wholly buried in the rust and ruins of antiquity; but it certainly has not received a due proportion of those improvements which have been made of late years both in ancient and modern history, as well as in other arts and sciences. For though there have been many parts of the affairs of the *Grecians* extracted from their Historians and Biographers, Poets, Orators, and Philosophers, with great variety of glosses and comments upon them; yet they are in such detached pieces, and so unmethodized, that they can only serve as the ground-work for a more regular composition; and as such I have made use of them. There are some collections of this kind which are more in the form

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of history: but the facts contained in them are related in so dry and lifeless a manner, that there is nothing of the true spirit of *Greece* in them. And a further objection to them is, that they are intermixed with the affairs of other nations, which have no relation to them. This is the method observed by the writers of *Universal History*, whose chief merit is the preserving the order of time; but for the sake of that, they invert the order of place, and hurry you on from one country to another, without any natural agreement or connection. Such a confused variety of matter may do well enough, when it is comprised in those short *compendiums* of *chronology*, which are designed to imprint on the memory the dates of the most remarkable events, as they have happened in the world. But the relating things at length in an historical way, and blending together sacred story and profane, ancient and modern, foreign and domestick, as it distracts the mind of the reader too much, so it is a work of too great labour and extent for the writer to be thoroughly executed.

He who has succeeded best in this way is *Monsieur Rollin*, who has culled out the flowers
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of the *Grecian* story, and interspersed them in the accounts which he has given of the other ancient kingdoms and common-wealths. But besides the relating things by piece-meal in the confused manner before mentioned, he has omitted several particulars which are material, and in others which are not so, he is too circumstantial. And his reflections, though they are generally just, are too frequent and too tedious, too trite and obvious, and too juvenile. However they may be suited to the design of his province in the instruction of youth, and may serve as lectures to instil into their minds principles of virtue and morality, they are not so agreeable as they should be to the laws of history, which will allow of very few reflections, but such as naturally arise to the reader from a simple relation of facts, or such at least as are interwoven in the body of the story, so as not to break the thread of it. I would not be thought to detract from the merit of a work, which has met with a pretty general approbation, and is now in every body's hands. The author has certainly taken great care and pains in it. He is copious in his matter, faithful in his authorities, and clear and easy in his narration:

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narration; and there is a spirit of liberty throughout the whole, which is well suited to the subject, and which few of his countrymen, except *Monsieur Turreil*, have attained to. Wherefore, though I had composed the following sheets before his history appeared in the world, I will freely own, that it has been of service to me in the revival of them.

I must likewise acknowledge the lights I have received in several passages of this history, from the *Grecian Antiquities of the most reverend the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*, who is no less eminent for his extensive knowledge in all parts of learning than for his other great qualities. And however this work may have served as an amusement to *his Grace* in the early course of his studies, it cannot now be thought unworthy of his more advanced age, nor unbecoming either his holy profession or his high station.

Just before I sent these sheets to the press, I met with *The History of Epaminondas*, lately published at *Paris* by the *Abbé de la Tour*, being intended to supply the loss of that life of him which was wrote by *Plutarch*. I likewise received *A Discourse* in manuscript upon
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the same subject, which had been pronounced in the *Academy of the Belles Lettres and Inscriptions*, by the *Abbé Gedoyn*, and which was communicated to me in a very obliging manner from *Monsieur de Fontenelle*. I was desirous to see if any thing material had escaped me in my account of the greatest man of *Greece*: And the perusal of these two pieces has served to clear up to me some doubtful passages concerning him, and to confirm me in others.

As to this second part of the *Grecian* story, it contains the transactions of sixty-eight years, which is not a twentieth part of the time comprised in the first volume: But what it wants in the number of years is made up in the variety of events, and the fulness of the materials. This compass of time, together with the twenty-seven preceding years of the *Peloponnesian* war, was the most active and bustling age of the *Grecians*; who, when they were freed from the danger of a foreign enemy, fell into such dissensions as turned the edge of the sword against themselves, and ended in the destruction of that liberty which they had so gloriously defended. There were still among them

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them some true patriots, who aimed at nothing further than the general safety of *Greece*, and an equal balance among the several commonwealths : But it was the fixing and preserving this balance which created so much difficulty and disturbance. Among so many different governments and popular assemblies, it was hardly possible to avoid confusion and discord : And the *Demagogues*, and other artful and designing men, from hence took occasion to perplex and inflame matters still more, in order to carry on their own selfish views at the expence of the public. There was one part of the constitution of *Greece* well designed to remedy these inconveniencies, and that was the *Council of the Amphictyons*, who were in the nature of *States General*, and were intended not only to provide for the common good and safety of the whole, but to decide the differences, and adjust the pretensions of each particular state ; and great regard was paid to their determinations. But though they were convened twice a year, it was mostly for form-sake ; so that, except upon some very extraordinary occasions, they seldom did any thing that answered the end of their institution. The *Gre-*
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cians had other specious shews of liberty, and their public harangues were full of it; but it was chiefly in shew and in words, for the spirit of it was in a great measure lost. The band of amity, which had united them against the *Persians*, was dissolved. The open, generous, and disinterested valour, which they shewed upon that occasion, began daily to degenerate into sloth and luxury, faction and corruption, fraud and violence. The greater states devoured the lesser, and then preyed upon one another. In short, the great bone of contention now among them, was the sovereignty of *Greece*; which most of them aspired to in their turns; and still, as one competitor failed in it, there started up another. Such was the convulsive state of *Greece* at the time of the *Peloponnesian* war; and so it continued as long as it was a nation. There were indeed some quiet intervals; but they were short, and such as served rather to recover breath than to settle any course of tranquillity.

In relating these wars of the *Grecians* among themselves, the reader is not to expect such great and surprising incidents as those which happened in their defence against the *Persians*.

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He will not meet with such numerous armies as those which came with all the power of the *East* like an inundation upon them; nor with such signal victories, as those which have perpetuated the names of *Marathon*, *Salamis*, *Platæa*, and *Mycale*. The efforts which were then made for the public liberty had something more than human in them, and are not to be accounted for according to the ordinary course of nature. But however the *eclat* of these illustrious actions may raise our attention and admiration, yet an account of the intestine quarrels which succeeded them, will furnish us with more of that useful knowledge and instruction, which is to be drawn from history. There were fewer numbers then brought into the field, and less blood shed: But the merit of these later victories consisted more in the skill and conduct of the Generals, and the discipline of the troops, than in the number of the slain. There were more feints and stratagems, marches and counter-marches, incampments and decampments, more surprising of garrisons, intercepting of convoys, debauching of allies, and eluding of treaties. In short, the *Grecians* were now become much more expert

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expert and refined in the art of war, and less prodigal of their lives, than when they had nothing but an hardy desperate valour to oppose to the multitudes of the *Barbarians*; and when by that glorious stand made at *Thermopylae*, one part of them devoted themselves to certain death for the preservation of the rest. Hence it was, that these civil discords were protracted to a greater length than could otherwise have been imagined: For considering the heat and rancour with which they were carried on, and that the scene of action lay in so narrow a compass as *Greece* strictly so called, it might naturally have been expected that things would sooner have been brought to some general issue, and that, by some decisive stroke, one of the principal republicks would have made an entire conquest of the whole. Besides the reasons already given for the long continuance, and the fatal issue of these wars, another material one may be assigned, which is, that the *Grecians* were not content to decide their own quarrel, without interesting foreign powers in it. Most of them, to their eternal reproach, as they found themselves distressed, made mean applications to
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their old enemies the *Persians*, who had found out the secret of fomenting their divisions, and supporting one state against another, in order to weaken the whole. *Philip* afterwards improved upon the example the *Persians* had set him; and thus in the end the *Grecian* liberties were lost. The means by which this change was effected, and the struggles which were now and then made by particular persons and states, for recovering the ancient honour of *Greece*, is chiefly the subject of this volume.

Here it may not be improper to observe, that notwithstanding these commotions, with which the whole country was more or less agitated, arts and sciences received daily improvement, and were carried on to a great degree of perfection; and there was more politeness and civility, more policy and intrigue, more good writing and speaking, and a greater variety of men eminent in all professions, than in any other period of time in *Greece*, or in any other country in that age of the world. And as a thorough knowledge of the lives and characters of these famous men does very much conduce to the knowledge of the history of the times they lived in, I have therefore been
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the more exact in describing them, so as to distinguish their good and bad qualities, and to shew in what manner, and in what degree, they have been beneficial or hurtful to their country. In the doing this, I have found it difficult to reconcile the different accounts which have been given of them by some of the historians of those times, who often clash with one another, and sometimes even with themselves. All that I could do in this case, was to compare them together, to supply the defects of one out of another, and to extract out of the whole those particulars, which appeared to me the most rational and probable, and most consistent with the common known character of the person I was describing. I have observed the same method with regard to facts, as well as persons, throughout the course of this history; and where I have met with any essential difference, or manifest contradiction, I have taken notice of it as such in the body of the story.

If we consider how many volumes relating to the affairs of the *Grecians* have been lost, we might expect more confusion, and greater chasms in their story, than there really are;

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But it happens very fortunately, that some of their best writers, and of the best authority, are still remaining, particularly *Thucydides*, *Xenophon* and *Demosthenes*, who had a great share in the transactions they relate, and were otherwise most remarkable for their probity and veracity. So that the *Græcia mendax* of *Juvenal* cannot be thought applicable to these writers, or to the times in which they flourished, but must be understood only of the *fabulous age*, which undoubtedly is a fitter subject for the extravagancies of poetry, than for the gravity of an historian. I have accordingly considered it in that light, and have gone no further into it than I found necessary, in order to make a beginning, and to introduce the more solid and authentick parts of the story. And herein I am sufficiently warranted by the example of our own historians, who have not contented themselves with the wild accounts of the ancient *Britons*, but have had recourse to the *Trojan Brute* as our founder: And the *Scottish* writers begin their relations from a son of *Cecrops* the *Athenian*, or of *Argus*, who lived an hundred years before him. And though there is no great stress laid upon these

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these early accounts, they are sufficient to shew, that we have grafted upon the same stock of *Fable* as the *Grecians*, or rather carried it further, and grafted one fable upon another: And the same vanity has prevailed in several other parts of *Europe*.

Here I cannot help observing, how much it is to the honour of *Greece*, that so many nations have laid claim to her as their common mother; and that they have invented so many fictions and forgeries to be considered as *Grecian* colonies, when they might more naturally, and with more credibility, have drawn their descent from some imaginary heroes of their own. But it was the established fame, and the real merit of *Greece*, that made them so fond of being allied to her: It was the learning, wit and delicacy of *Athens*, the laws and discipline of *Sparta*, and the valour and love of liberty throughout the whole country, which put them upon forming these pretensions, in hopes that, by calling themselves *Grecians*, they should be thought to inherit their virtues, and to act upon their principles. And in some respects they have copied after them, particularly in their forms of government, which have served as models to several

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considerable states in this part of the world, but with such variations and improvements, as the wisdom of the later ages has found necessary. For though the general plan of government in *Greece* was founded upon principles of liberty, there were great errors and defects in it, which I have cursorily taken notice of, in relating the tumults and disorders that have been occasioned by them. Some of these imperfections are still retained in the republicks which are now subsisting in *Europe*; and others have been added, by refining too much, and aiming at more perfection than that sort of government is capable of. I know there have been several attempts to shew, that there may be such a thing as a perfect commonwealth: But how plausible soever the arguments for it may appear in writing, they are not easily to be reduced to practice, so as to prevent the tyranny of *the few* in an *oligarchy*, or the licentiousness of *the many* in a *democracy*. This was the case of the two principal states of *Greece*, upon which most of the others were founded.

In *Sparta* indeed, according to the settlement of *Lycurgus*, there was the appearance of a limited monarchy; but it was too limited,
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first by the authority of the senate, and afterwards of the *Ephori*, who, though they were originally instituted only as a barrier between the senate and the people, soon became the supreme magistrates, and were superior to the Kings in every thing but the name. However the government subsisted long under this form; and the *Roman* commonwealth was founded upon it, the *Consuls* answering to the two *Spartan* Kings, and the *Tribunes* of the people to the *Ephori*. But these *Roman* magistrates had greater power, and made a worse use of it, especially the *Tribunes*, who, under colour of protecting the people in their just rights, became the authors of most of the seditions, tumults, murders, and civil discord, which happened in the most busy times of the commonwealth. As in *Sparta* the power of the Kings was too much restrained, so in *Athens* the power of the people was too excessive; and nothing but some middle scheme between these extremes, can be supposed to answer the true ends of government. I might from hence take occasion to extol the happiness of our own constitution, which is so equally poized by a due distribution of power on the one hand, and of liberty on the other. But

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perhaps some may think the boundary lines between them are drawn so fine, as not to be easily perceptible ; at least this is the most plausible pretence for the many party-disputes among us, and the best way of accounting for our frequent alarms and jealousies, lest one part of the constitution should break in, and make encroachments upon the other. These are bad effects, but they proceed from a good cause ; and however some particulars may be affected by them, they have seldom gone so far, as to endanger the safety of the whole : So that notwithstanding these inconveniences, we are in the main much happier than any of our neighbours, who reproach us with them ; and our liberty is better secured to us, than it could be in any of the republicks of *Greece*, or in any of those regal governments in *Europe*, which, though they were formed upon the same model with ours, have now very little remains of their original institution. I have made a further digression from my subject than I intended : But in speaking of the *Grecian* governments, and of those which have been grafted upon them, I could not, as an *Englishman*, resist the temptation of saying something in preference of our own, which is certainly
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the nearest to perfection, and is attended with very few evils, but such as are of our own making.

But to return to *Greece*; I have rather chose to finish my account of it with the death of *Philip* of *Macedon*, than to carry it on to his successor. For the affairs of *Alexander*, besides that they are already related by others in a fuller and more unbroken manner, than those of the preceding times, are not, strictly speaking, to be looked upon as a continuation of the *Grecian* story, since they relate almost entirely to *Macedonia* and *Persia*. Some indeed of the *Grecians* took occasion, from the absence of *Alexander* in his *eastern* expedition, to attempt the recovery of their liberty; but he soon returned upon them; and by the destruction of *Thebes*, and the victory afterwards obtained over the *Peloponnesians* by *Antipater* his viceroy in *Macedonia*, he struck such a terror into the whole country, that he kept them in a quiet subjection; so that if he had lived to return again into *Greece*, he would have found it very easy to annex it to his own dominions, and to destroy the very name of it. However the *Grecians* still subsisted, but in so low and lifeless a condition, that from the time
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of *Alexander's* captains, until they were subdued by the *Romans*, there were very few among them, who were distinguished for arms and counsels, and not many for arts and learning: So that, except the famous league of the *Achaians* under *Aratus* and *Philopæmen*, and the endeavours of *Agis* and *Cleomenes* to recover the state of *Sparta* from the encroachments of the *Ephori*, there is very little worth recording.

C O N.

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B O O K

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THE
GREEKIAN
HISTORY.

BOOK I.

From the end of the *Peloponnesian* war,
to the battle of *Mantineæ*.

Containing the space of forty-two years.

CHAP. I.

From the end of the *Peloponnesian* war,
to the death of *Socrates*.

Containing the space of five years.

THE victory of *Lysander* was so terrible a shock to *Athens*, that though she gathered strength enough to survive it, she could never perfectly recover it. From a prospect of bringing the war to an happy issue, she found herself in one hour reduced to the lowest

ebb of fortune, and lay at the mercy of those whom she had so lately insulted: For the terms obtained by the last treaty amounted to little more than surrendering at discretion. So that from hence we may date the *fall of the Athenian Empire*, which began soon after the defeat of the *Persians* at *Mycale*, and continued about seventy-three years. However, the conquerors were so generous as not wholly to extinguish the name of *Athens*. They said, *They would not be guilty of putting out one of the eyes of Greece*. And this agrees with what *Plutarch* relates of *Lysander*, That when he sent word to *Sparta*, That the Athenians were taken, the magistrates wrote back to him, *It is sufficient to have taken them*. But it is certain, they imposed some further marks of their conquest on them: Of which the most particular was, that they obliged the people to break up the *democracy*, and submit to the government of thirty men, who are commonly known by the name of *the thirty tyrants*. This change was owing chiefly to *Lysander*, who about the same time introduced the *Oligarchy* into *Samos*, and other places, which he took in as tributary to *Athens*. In most of them he established a *decemvirate*, which was modelled according to his directions, and made up of his own creatures. And thus he treated not only the enemies, but the allies of *Sparta*; by which means he had in a manner engrossed to himself the whole empire of *Greece*.

The thirty tyrants.

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Having settled his conquests, he returned in triumph to *Sparta* with the *Athenian* and other gallies, and fifteen hundred talents in money, together with a great deal of rich booty, besides the crowns of gold and other presents which had been made him by the several cities. He sent the money to *Sparta* in sealed bags by *Gylippus*, who, ripping up the bottom of the bags, took out as much as he thought fit, and then sewed them up again. But there happened to be a note in each bag, specifying the sum contained in it, which *Gylippus* not being apprized of, the fraud by this means was detected: And thereupon, either to avoid punishment, or out of shame for having been guilty of so mean an action, he banished himself, and never afterwards appeared in *Sparta*.

*Lyfander
returns in
triumph to
Sparta.*

There was a further consideration in regard to this treasure, whether, according to the *Spartan* laws, it ought to be received into the city. Many of the soberest and most discreet among them opposed the introducing it; and they were the more confirmed in their opinion from this instance of *Gylippus*, who, they found, had been so far influenced by money, as to give up every thing else for it, and to sully all the glory of his past actions: For he was otherwise a man of great reputation, and had acquitted himself extremely well in the war of *Sicily*, where he had the command of the *Spartan* troops: And it was owing chiefly to him that the *Athenians* did

not make themselves masters of that island. Hereupon the *Ephori* were obliged to pass a decree, that none but the old iron money of the country should be made current. But *Lysander's* friends would not yet give it up: They resumed the debate, and got the decree reversed, or at least so far qualified, that this money, though it was to be admitted into the city, was to be employed only on public occasions; and it was made capital to convert it to any private use. But this did not answer the intent of *Lycurgus*, which was by prohibiting the use of gold and silver, to restrain covetousness and luxury. *Plutarch* observes upon this occasion, that the ill consequence of riches was not so effectually prevented, by forbidding the use of money in private, as it was encouraged, by allowing it in public: That therefore this sort of prohibition only heightened their desires; and that, if their actions did not presently break out, at least their affections were tainted. Whatever was pretended of laying in a fund to supply the exigencies of the state, the use of money had now got footing among them; they began to know the value of it as well as their neighbours, and raised it by more arbitrary and oppressive methods. *Diodorus Siculus* says, they exacted tribute from all the cities under their jurisdiction, and treasured up a thousand talents every year. Upon the whole, it is certain that the introducing this treasure, was in effect a change in the constitution;

tion; it softened their minds so as to prepare them for corruption; and in short, the first great step towards their throwing off that rugged virtue, which distinguished them so much from the rest of *Greece*. This change was owing entirely to *Lyfander*, who sacrificed every thing to his ostentation and vanity, and stuck at no expence to gratify them. He erected his own, and several of the chief commanders statues in brass. He was very liberal to those of his retinue, and gave such encouragement to the poets, that they complimented him with songs of triumph, and employed all their art in his praises. The *Grecians* in general were so awed with his merit, that they erected altars to his honour, and sacrificed to him as a god.

In the mean time, while *the thirty* in *Athens*, instead of compiling and publishing a more perfect body of laws, which was the pretence for their being chosen, began to exert their power of life and death: and though they constituted a senate and other magistrates, they made no further use of them than to confirm their authority, and to see their commands executed. However, they at first acted cautiously, and condemned only the most detested and scandalous part of the citizens, such as lived by evidencing and informing. But this was only to give a colour to their proceedings; their design was to make themselves absolute; and knowing that was not to be done without a foreign power,

The Proceedings of the thirty.

Therame-
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them.

their next step was to desire a guard might be sent them from *Sparta*, until such time as they could clear the city of all disaffected persons, and thoroughly settle the government. *Lyfander* accordingly procured them a guard under the command of *Callibius*, whom by bribes and artifices they worked over to their designs, and then acted without control, filling the city with the blood of those, who, on account of their riches, interest, or good qualities, were most likely to make head against them. The most violent among them was *Critias*, who resolved to wreak his revenge on the people, by whom he had formerly been banished. The first who protested against these proceedings was *Theramenes*, one of their own members: And lest he should join with the multitude against them, they invested three thousand of the citizens with some part of the power, and by their assistance disarmed the rest. Being thoroughly emboldened by such an accession to their party, they agreed to single out every one his man, to put them to death and seize their estates for the maintenance of their garrison: Amongst whom was *Niceratus*, the son of *Nicias*, a man of the greatest estate and interest in *Athens*, and of so sweet and obliging a temper, that he was universally lamented. But being still jealous of *Theramenes*, who was struck with horror at their proposals, they found it necessary to remove him out of the way. And thereupon *Critias* accused him to the senate,

Is accused
by Critias.

senate, of endeavouring to subvert the government. From thence he took occasion to justify their proceedings in general; as, *That it was necessary to abridge the people in some measure of that liberty with which they had so long been pampered; That all changes of government were attended with blood, and therefore it was no wonder that they had so many enemies: But that it was unpardonable in one of their own order to desert them, and to betray that power, which, by accepting a share of it, he had promised to maintain.* *Theramenes* made so full and handsome a defence, that the senate were inclined to favour him: Which *Critias* perceiving, and knowing that, as one of *the three thousand*, he had a privilege of being tried in form, he struck his name out of the list, in order to subject him more immediately to their censure. It was justly urged by *Theramenes*, *that it was as easy to blot out any other man's name as his; and that therefore they ought to make his case their own.* But as they were under no present apprehension of that kind, or rather that they were awed by a guard, which *Critias* had placed before the bar of the court, they durst not oppose the tyrants, who, taking advantage of their silence, immediately passed sentence of death upon him; which he suffered by the juice of *Hemlock*. When he had drank his dose, he threw away what was left in the cup, and said, *This to honest Critias.* *Socrates*, whose disciple he had been, was the only one

Is condemned and executed.

of the senate, who ventured to appear in his defence; he made an attempt to rescue him out of the hands of the officer of justice; and after his execution, went about, as it were, in defiance of *the thirty*, exhorting and animating the senators and citizens against them. *Critias*, who had likewise been his scholar, was so alarmed and incensed at his behaviour, that he forbade him instructing the youth. But he went on with the same intrepidity, and without any regard to his authority. The tyrants, whether they were awed with his merit, or his resolution, did not think fit to proceed against him: But as he continued to use the same freedom with the government, it soon after cost him his life, as in its proper place will be more particularly related. As to *Theramenes*, the people expressed a greater concern for him than could have been expected for one of that society. But he was indeed the only one among them from whom they had any thing to hope for, as a barrier between them and the tyranny. When he first engaged with them he was upon the strictest terms of friendship with *Critias*, and they had always acted together in concert: But when he found what measures the other was pursuing, he opposed him, and broke with him.

His character.

He had appeared in most of the late contests betwixt the nobility and the commons, and was active, but not violent; endeavouring rather to accommodate himself to both parties, than to depress

depress either : From whence his enemies gave him the name of *the buskin*, as it serves either foot. But his shifting sides proceeded not so much from the unevenness of his temper, as from his caution and moderation, which made him distinguish betwixt the rule and the tyranny. He had some time before shewn his inclination to an *Oligarchy*, having been principally concerned with *Pisander* and *Antiphan* in introducing the government of *the four hundred*. And in this latter instance, he seems to have had some plan of that kind in his view : For he thought *the thirty* too few to carry on the administration, and proposed the adding some competent number to them. On the other hand, he was as much against the letting in *the three thousand*, which he saw was only arming one part of the citizens against the rest. He was, according to the mildness of his nature, for some middle scheme, whereby the power of the multitude might be restrained, but not totally abolished. But whatever his designs were, he had not weight enough to put them in execution ; and therefore fell a sacrifice to the honesty of his intentions. The greatest blot upon his memory is, his being instrumental in the condemnation of the Admirals, after the fight at *Arginusæ*.

The tyrants having removed this obstacle out of their way, renewed their outrages with more security, taking off all whom they thought
any

any way obnoxious, or in any capacity of obstructing their designs. Whilst they were thus destroying with sword and rapine, the wretched remainder of the citizens cast their thoughts on *Alcibiades*, and were struck with remorse for their last ill usage of him. But as he had before overlooked their peevishness, and relieved them in their extremities; so neither were they now without hopes, that he might appear again to rescue them. And the tyrants themselves were so apprehensive of it, that they were very solicitous to get intelligence of all his designs and actions. *Critias* at last represented to *Lysander*, that either the government, or *Alcibiades* must fall; and, after many solicitations, so far prevailed, that orders were given to dispatch him. He resided at that time in a small village in *Phrygia*, where he was making an interest with *Pharnabazus*, to recommend him to his master *Artaxerxes*. *Lysander* made it a request to *Pharnabazus*, to deliver him up either alive or dead; and laid such stress upon it, that he seemed to make it a condition of the league between the *Spartans* and the *Persians*. He consented to it, and committed the execution to his brother and his uncle; who surrounding the house, where he dwelt with his mistress *Timandra*, set fire to it. *Alcibiades* threw in great quantities of cloaths and furniture to choke the flame; then with his robe on his left arm, and his sword in the other hand, he made his way through it: Which

Which the assassins perceiving, retreated, and slew him at a distance with their darts and arrows. Some ascribe this murder to *Pharnabazus* his own private jealousy of him ; others to the resentment of some young noblemen whose sister he had debauched. And others say, he had got into the secret of the levy, that *Cyrus* was making for the expedition against his brother, and was endeavouring, by the discovery of it to *Artaxerxes*, to ingratiate himself with that prince, and to procure his assistance for re-establishing the affairs of his country; that therefore it became necessary to take him off. But whatever cause they assign for his death, they are generally agreed as to the manner of it; which indeed was suitable to that extravagance with which fortune had all along treated him. And therein she did but second the variety of nature, who seems in his composition to have worked up the most jarring contradictions, and to have tried how far she could go in reconciling the extremes of vice and virtue. But it is to be doubted whether his virtues ought, upon a strict examination, to bear that name; and whether they ought not rather to be called extraordinary talents and endowments, and ways of recommending himself. They had more of artifice and design, of popularity and ostentation, than of any real principle of honour and justice, or love of his country. And therefore *Valerius Maximus* makes it a question, Whether his good

Alcibiades murdered.

His character.

or

or bad qualities were most hurtful to the public: *By the former, says he, he deceived his fellow-citizens, and by the latter he ruined them.* He first insinuated himself into their confidence, and then put them upon fruitless and desperate projects; particularly that fatal expedition against *Sicily*, where their fleets and armies mouldered away, when they had need enough of them at home; and this paved the way for their total overthrow by *Lyfander*. His view in these enterprises was not only to procure honour to himself, but also to make himself necessary, and to keep the people employed, so that they should not be at leisure to inquire into his conduct. He likewise found his account in the presents that were made him abroad, and in that respect he was both greedy and corrupt; and yet his taking them was not so much for the sake of the money as to support his popularity and luxury. His natural bent was certainly pleasure; and yet as much as he loved it, he made it give way to his ambition: But he was so violent, and withal so irregular and capricious in the pursuit of it, that there was no living with him upon any equal footing. He was any thing, and every thing, by fits and starts, and just as it suited his present purpose; one while for the *Oligarchy*, and then as great a stickler for the *Democracy*; one while in the *Spartan* interest, in order to revenge himself of his country, and then in the *Persian*, in order to be reconciled to it. The people,

people, it must be confessed, were no less unequal and inconsistent in their behaviour to him; from whence it happened, that, according to the temper they were in, or according to the occasion they had for his service, he was looked upon as the best or worst member of the common-wealth, and was either caressed and adored, or detested and persecuted. And yet, upon the whole, they had such an opinion of his merit, that though they were never easy with him, they never thought themselves safe without him. *Plutarch* makes a remark, That his enemies could never get the better of him but in his absence; which must be attributed to his subtilty and address, and more especially to the amiableness of his person, and the force of his eloquence, which *Nepos* says, No body could resist. But though by these means he captivated the generality of the citizens; yet the gravest and most considerable among them saw further into the disguise, and were more upon their guard against him. Upon this occasion, the warning that was given them by *Timon* the *Man-bater*, of what they were to expect from him, may be worth remembering. It happened one day, that *Alcibiades* having succeeded well in an oration, the whole assembly attended to compliment him upon it; and *Timon*, instead of avoiding him, as he did others in the like cases, put himself in his way, and taking him by the hand, said, *Go on boldly, my son; mayest thou increase in credit with*

with the people; for thou wilt one day bring them calamities enough. He was scarce above forty years old when he died; by which time he had done enough to make himself by turns the support and terror not only of his own country, but of several other parts both in *Greece* and *Asia*. And he had been still greater, if he had been as careful to preserve the people's love as he was to obtain it. But the management of prosperity was not his talent: And therefore the fairest view of him is to be taken from his sufferings; which, as they were often unjust, set off his good qualities to a greater advantage, and consequently made his fall the more lamented, especially at a time when he was so much wanted. Having given a general character of this great man, when I first mentioned him, I have here only added such further observations as were necessary to illustrate it, and which have naturally occurred upon a more distinct survey of his actions.

The inhabitants not being able to bear the severe treatment they met with from *the thirty*, fled daily in great numbers out of the city, by which means all *Greece* was overspread with *Athenian* exiles; until at last the *Spartans* published an edict, forbidding any of their cities to receive them; so that they were forced to betake themselves to *Thebes* and *Argos*, and such other places, where they could live in any tolerable security.

The

The first who appeared to stem this torrent was *Thrasybulus*, who had done good service in the *Peloponnesian* war; insomuch that *Alcibiades* is said to owe most of his success to his acting in concert with him. But his merit being not of so glaring a kind, was in a great measure eclipsed by that General, until it broke out upon this occasion of exerting himself alone, and in such a cause as the subversion of tyranny. At *Thebes* he fell into a consultation with his fellow-citizens; and the result was, That some vigorous effort, though it carried never so much danger with it, ought to be made for the recovery of the public liberty: Accordingly, with a party of thirty men only, as *Nepos* says; but, as *Xenophon* more probably says, of near seventy, he seized upon *Pkyre*, a strong castle on the frontiers of *Attica*. This enterprise gave the alarm to the *Tyrants*, who immediately marched out of the city with the three thousand, and their *Spartan* guard, and attempted the recovery of the place, but were repulsed with loss. Finding they could not carry it by a sudden assault, they resolved upon a siege; but being not sufficiently provided for that service, and a great snow falling that night, they were forced to retire the next day into the city, leaving only part of their guard, to prevent any further excursions into the country.

Thrasybulus opposes the thirty.

By this first success *Thrasybulus* had increased his followers to the number of seven hundred; with

His success.

with which he made a sally upon the guards, and dispersed and routed them, with the slaughter of about an hundred and twenty. *The thirty* in the mean while were under great consternation; and for fear of treachery from those few who were left in the city, they forced them to quit it. Then they fortified *Eleusis*, to serve them upon any sudden exigency, as a place of retreat. And, to free themselves from any jealousy the inhabitants might give them, they caused all who were able to bear arms to pass one by one, as it were upon a review, in order to compute the strength of the garrison, and murdered them. At the same time they attempted to corrupt *Tbrasybulus*, and sent under colour of treating about prisoners, to make him a private offer of sharing with them in the government, together with the liberty of restoring any ten of the exiles, whom he should name, upon condition he would dismiss the rest, and come into their measures. To which proposal he generously answered, *That he looked upon his banishment to be far more honourable than the whole power and dominion of the thirty; and that he would never put up his sword, until all the citizens from every part were received, and restored to the liberties derived to them from their ancestors.*

By this time he had got together a body of a thousand men; with which he marched out of

Phyle

Phyle by night, and seized on the *Piræus*. *The* thirty coming with their whole strength to the relief of it, he took advantage of the ground, made the best disposition of his men, then reminded them of the cause they were engaged in, and the success they had hitherto met with, and offered the enemy battle; wherein he easily obtained the victory; which indeed was more remarkable for the consequence of it than the number of the slain, which were about seventy; but among them were *Critias* and *Hippomachus*, two of the chief of the tyrants.

A truce being granted for delivering up the dead bodies, both sides came to a parley; and *Thrasybulus* took that occasion to expostulate with them, asking them, *Why they fled from a conqueror whom they ought rather to join as the assertor of the public liberty*; adding, *That his army was composed of citizens, and not of enemies; that he came not to rob or plunder them, but to restore them to their own*; in short, *That his quarrel was to the tyrants, not to the city*. Then he reminded them, *How they were tied to one another by all the obligations of religion, laws and consanguinity; how they had served in the same camp, and fought under the same colours*. He conjured them, *That if they themselves could patiently submit to the yoke, they would at least have some pity for their fellow-citizens, who were banished for no other reason but because they would not be slaves*; concluding, *That if they would*

restore him to his country, he would restore them to their liberty. It is probable this speech may be confounded with another to the same effect, by some ascribed to *Cleocritus*; but it is certain it made such an impression upon *the three thousand*, especially those who had been least instrumental in these outrages, that upon their return into the city they became thoroughly sensible that they ought not to let their country be ruined to support the avarice and ambition of their tyrants: The issue whereof was, that *the thirty* should be removed from the government. Accordingly they retired to *Eleusis*; and ten others were chosen, one out of each tribe, for the administration.

The thirty removed. Ten substituted in their room. Olym. 94. 2.

They follow the example of the thirty.

But this change was far from producing any good effect: *The ten* copied exactly after *the thirty*; so that the tyranny being restrained only as to the number, there were the same jealousies, tumults, and divisions in the city, the same acts of injustice, rapine, and cruelty: And many of *the three thousand* were too deeply involved in the guilt of the former administration not to pursue the same measures. They found there was no means of safety or impunity left for them, but by the utter destruction of those in the *Piræus*. Accordingly they held correspondence with *the thirty* at *Eleusis*, and made their joint application to *Sparta* for fresh succours for that purpose. Their request was seconded by *Lysander*, who represented it as a new affront offered

ferred to the *Spartans*, in revolting from them, and dissolving the form of government which they had prescribed to them; and thereupon he procured them from the state an hundred talents, with a commission for himself to go General, and his brother *Libys* Admiral, in order to block up the *Piræus* by sea and land. Accordingly he marched with a strong body of *Peloponnesians*; and the Admiral suffered no provisions to go in by sea; by which means those in the *Piræus* were distressed on all sides.

*Lyfander
sent to sup-
port them.*

While things were in this posture, *Pausanias*, one of the *Spartan* Kings, got leave to follow *Lyfander*, with another body, to support him. But his design was not to so much to assist, as to watch him; he could not allow him the glory of conquering *Athens* a second time; and therefore went rather to trifle and perplex the war than to prosecute it to any real advantage: So that what some call his commiseration of the poor *Athenians*, was in reality the envy he bore to *Lyfander*. It is also observable, that in making his levies for this expedition out of the forces in alliance with *Sparta*, the *Bæotians* and *Corinthians*, who had all along been the most active and professed enemies of the *Athenians*, refused now to serve against them, alleging, that they could not save their oaths in making war upon those who had not broke any one article of the league. But the truth is, they apprehended the power of the *Spartans*, concluding,

*Pausanias
sent after
him.*

they would make an entire conquest of *Athens*, and annex it to their own dominions. This is the first instance of that jealousy, which soon after several other states of *Greece* conceived of *Sparta*.

Pausanias, before any act of hostility on his side, sent to those in the *Piræus*, to depart every one to his respective home; and, upon their refusal, having drawn up his men, and made a slight attack, he went to view the ground for opening the trenches: But the enemy made a sally, and galled him so in his retreat, that from skirmishing he was forced to bring it to a regular action, which was fought obstinately enough on both sides, until at length the *Athenians* were routed, with the loss of an hundred and fifty men, and *Pausanias* erected a trophy.

*Routs the
Athe-
nians.*

But instead of pushing his victory, he sent privately to the *Athenians*, that they should dispatch ambassadors to him, and the two *Ephori* who attended him in the field, to offer terms of accommodation. Accordingly they sent their deputies both from the *Piræus* and the city, and a peace was concluded upon these conditions; *That every man should return home, except the thirty, and the ten, and eleven more who had commanded in the Piræus. And if any in the city apprehended themselves to be obnoxious, they should also be free to retire with them to Eleusis.* After which *Pausanias* drew off the *Spartan* army,

army, and those in the *Piræus* marched with their arms into the city ; where *Thraſybulus* having, among other things, reproached the citizens with their calling the *Spartans* in to their assistance, told them, *They had nothing further to fear, provided they would be governed by their ancient laws* ; and so far prevailed upon them, that they chose their magistrates as formerly, and restored the *Democracy*. *The Democracy restored.*

But the city had no sooner began to recover breath, when the remainder of the faction at *Eleusis* were hiring foreign troops, in order to make another attempt: Whereupon the whole city went out against them; and having taken their commanders upon a pretence of coming to a parley, cut them to pieces ; after which the rest were easily brought to an accommodation. And lest the remembrance of former transactions should create any new disturbances, a general *amnesty* was passed, and every man obliged himself by oath to bury what was passed in oblivion : Which being religiously observed, the city was restored to its former tranquillity, and its members were again united into one body. *A general amnesty.*

Thus ended this sedition in the third year after its breaking out upon the change of the government; during which time the state suffered such convulsions as proved more fatal to it than the war. There were fourteen hundred citizens put to death without hearing, and those
C 3 chiefly

Clymp.
94 3

chiefly men of note and condition. There were above five thousand more forced to fly into the *Piræus*: And *Xenophon* observes, that this intestine fury had consumed as many in eight months as the *Peloponnesian* war did in ten years. As the flame was kindled by the tyranny of *the thirty*, so it was all along fomented and kept alive by the ambition of *Lysander*: And that it was at last extinguished, is almost intirely owing to the conduct and resolution of *Thrasybulus*, who, after the share he had in rescuing his country from a foreign enemy, had the peculiar glory of suppressing its intestine foes, and, by that means, of restoring the city to itself. And in effecting this, he shewed the greatest temper and moderation; which indeed were necessary in such a conjuncture, to appease the minds of the people, and to reconcile them to one another. Hence it was, that this *act of oblivion* became a pattern to succeeding ages; and *Cicero* recommends it as such to the people of *Rome*, when the city was divided into factions upon the murder of *Julius Cæsar*.

Upon this re-establishment of affairs in *Athens*, the other states enjoyed the same tranquillity, or rather kept in a quiet subjection to *Sparta*, which now held the undoubted sovereignty of *Greece*. But it being a maxim with the *Spartans*, that this sovereignty was not to be maintained but by a constant course of action, they were still seeking fresh occasions of war: And
part

part of their forces, together with another body of *Grecians*, being at this time engaged in a quarrel between the *Persian* King and his brother, it will be necessary to pass over into *Asia*, and relate so much of the *Persian* affairs as concerns *the expedition of Cyrus*, wherein those forces were employed; especially since it is attended with circumstances, which, if duly considered, will easily make it pass for one of the greatest actions of antiquity.

Darius, the *Persian*, upon his death-bed, sent for his two sons, *Artaxerxes* and *Cyrus*; the former whereof he declared his successor, and the other general of a part of his troops; and he had before appointed him commander in chief of the maritime provinces. The old King being dead, *Tissaphernes*, who went up with *Cyrus* from his government, accused him to his brother of treason: But upon the intercession of his mother *Parisatis*, not only his life was spared, but he was confirmed in his government. And yet he was no sooner returned to it, but he studied how to revenge this affront, and to dethrone his brother. To this end he practised with the *Grecians* and *Barbarians*, and made levies of the best soldiers of *Peloponnesus*, in order to recruit his garrisons; the pretence for which was, his distrust of *Tissaphernes*, from whom he had taken all the cities of *Ionia*, except *Mileius*; and that he had blocked up by sea and land, under colour of restoring some

Olymp.

94. 4.

*Grounds of
the expe-
dition of
Cyrus.*

whom *Tissaphernes* had banished, upon a suspicion of their betraying him. The King was not much concerned at his quarrel with *Tissaphernes*, so long as he thought these levies were designed against him only; and he was the more confirmed in this opinion, because *Cyrus* continued to send him up the tribute due from those places as before.

His making levies.

Cyrus in the mean while held intelligence with *Clearchus*, *Aristippus*, and other *Grecians*, who were either banished from their respective countries, or disgusted in them; and by their means got together, upon several different pretences, one little army in the *Chersonese* of *Thrace*, a second upon the *Hellepont*, and a third in *Thessaly*. When his designs were ripe, he drained his garrisons, and assembled all these scattered forces together at *Sardis*, giving out that his intent was to chastise the *Pisidians*, who infested his province. But *Tissaphernes* judging right, that these preparations were too great for so inconsiderable an enterprize as the *Pisidian* war, hastened to inform the King of it, who accordingly took the alarm, and prepared for his defence.

His pretence for it.

The rendezvous of his forces at Sardis.

At the rendezvous of the forces at *Sardis*, there were four thousand *Grecians*, who had been drawn out of the garrisons, under the command of *Xenias*; *Proxenus*, the *Boeotian*, had brought two thousand more; *Sophænetus* the *Stymphalian*, one thousand; *Socrates* of *Achaia*, five

five hundred; and *Phasion* the *Magarean* seven hundred; in all to the number of eight thousand two hundred men; with which *Cyrus* marched through *Lydia* to *Colossus*, a city of *Pbrygia*, where he was joined by *Menon* the *Theffelian*, who commanded in the room of *Aristippus*, with fifteen hundred more. His next march was to *Celene*, another city of *Pbrygia*, where *Clearchus* the *Spartan* came in to him with two thousand more; *Sofias* the *Syracusian* with one thousand; and *Socrates* the *Arcadian* with three hundred; which made the whole number of *Grecians* thirteen thousand, whereof eleven thousand were heavy-armed.

But when they were got as far as *Tarsus*, the capital of *Cilicia*, they began to perceive *Cyrus's* intent of leading them into *Persia* against his brother, and refused to follow him; until by the artifice of *Clearchus* (who was the only *Grecian* in the secret of *Cyrus's* design) they being convinced it was less hazardous to proceed than to retreat, began to be pacified; and upon a promise of having their pay augmented to a third more, they agreed to march. At *Iffus*, the last city of *Cilicia*, there came to them thirty-five *Peloponnesian* gallies, and twenty-five of *Cyrus's*, which had been employed in the blockade of *Miletus*; and *Cherisophus* the *Spartan* joined the army with seven hundred *Grecians*, which he had on board the gallies. Four hundred more, who were in the pay of *Abrocomas*,
deserted

The Grecians refuse to follow him.

But are prevailed upon by Clearchus.

deserted from him, and came in to *Cyrus*. This *Abrocomas* commanded upon the *Euphrates*, and marched with three hundred thousand men to join the King's army, but did not arrive until after the battle.

*Xenias
and Phas-
ion desert.*

When they were arrived upon the coasts of *Phœnicia*, *Xenias* and *Phasion* deserted from them, and made their escape on board a merchant ship; which *Cyrus* did not resent in such a manner as was expected. He only told the other captains, *That no body should reproach him with keeping them in his service against their will, or with taking from them what they had got in it; that it was in his power to pursue and punish them, but that he was so far from doing either, that he would send to them their wives and children, which he had as hostages.* By this generous proceeding he fixed the resolution of those, who before had no great inclination to proceed.

*The Gre-
cians a-
gain re-
fused to
march.*

*But are
again pre-
vailed
upon.*

When they came to *Thapsacus*, a city upon the *Euphrates*, *Cyrus* told them plainly his design of marching against the King; at which the soldiers murmured, and reproached their officers with having kept it so long secret, refusing at the same time to march any further, until *Cyrus* promised them a further reward upon their arrival at *Babylon*, together with their full pay to their return into *Ionia*. *Menon* was also very instrumental in persuading them; for which *Cyrus* made him presents to a considerable value.

From

From thence they marched through *Mesopotamia*, and at last advanced into the province of *Babylon*; where *Cyrus*, upon the return of those who had been sent to reconnoitre the enemy, advised with the *Grecian* captains, and then spoke to them to this effect. *It is not, my friends, for want of troops that I have made choice of you, but because I have thought you are better to me than a greater number of Barbarians. Do not let me be deceived in my opinion of you; but shew yourselves worthy of that liberty which you enjoy, and which I think preferable to all other possessions. Consider only who you have to do with, and nothing can happen in the engagement to dishearten you. The enemy indeed is very numerous, and will rush upon you with great shouts and acclamations: but if you can stand this first eclat, you yourselves will be ashamed for them afterwards. If you behave upon this occasion like yourselves, and any one shall afterwards desire to return home, his countrymen shall have cause to look upon him with admiration and envy. But many of you, I believe, will rather chuse to stay with me, and accept the offers that shall be made you. There was a certain Samian, who took the liberty of telling the Prince, That his promises were very large, in proportion to the danger of his enterprize; but that, after the battle, he would forget them; or that, if he did not, he would not have it in his power to perform them. To which Cyrus replied, This kingdom of my father's is so extensive, that one*

Cyrus's speech to the Grecian captains.

part

part of it is not habitable by reason of the heat, nor the other by reason of the cold. All that lies between these two extremes, it will be in my power, if I am victorious, to bestow on my friends. Neither am I so much afraid of not having enough to give, as of not having men enough to give it to. And as for you, Grecians, I promise to give every man of you a crown of gold. Upon which assurances they went away very well satisfied. Clearchus afterwards asked him, if he thought the King would give him battle. Yes, undoubtedly, said he; If he be the son of Darius and Parisatis, and my brother, he will not let me take possession of all this, without striking a stroke for it.

He reviews his army.

And forms it.

Upon a general review of his army, he found it composed of ten thousand and four hundred heavy-armed *Grecians*, two thousand five hundred others; and an hundred thousand of other nations; and the enemy, by the accounts they had from deserters, amounted to twelve hundred thousand men, besides a select body of six thousand horse. He then formed his army, giving to *Clearchus* the command of the right-wing of *Grecians*, and *Mennon* the left, and marched in order of battle, expecting every hour to engage. But the enemy having left a pass open to him, which he thought they would have disputed, he pursued his march with more security, and less order, until at last being arrived at the place where he intended to encamp, he discovered the King's army

army by a thick cloud of dust, and prepared to receive them. He ordered *Clearchus* to charge directly into the center, where the King was; for that thereupon depended the whole success of the battle: But the enemy being so numerous, that one of their wings would cover the whole front of *Cyrus's* army, he thought it not adviseable to abandon the river, for fear of being surrounded by them; which *Plutarch* blames him for, as having left that service to *Cyrus*, and thereby occasioned his death. When he had let the enemy advance within four or five hundred paces of him, the *Grecians* began the hymn to battle, and marched up to them with great acclamations. But before they were got within reach of their javelins, the *Barbarians* fled, and the *Grecians* after them, calling out to one another, not to break their ranks in the pursuit. *Cyrus* perceived the *Grecians* were victorious, yet was not transported with it, though he was already saluted King by those about him. At length he discovered the King his brother in the midst of the battle; and for fear he should fall upon the *Grecians* in their pursuit, and cut them off, he made up directly to him with six hundred horse, and with his own hand killed *Artagerfes*, who commanded the King's six hundred horse. But when he had broke their squadrons, all his own people abandoned him, except a few of his domesticks, with whom he charged on to the King, and crying out, *I see him*, threw a javelin

Cyrus
killed.

javelin at him, and wounded him in the stomach; but at the same time received a wound himself under his eye, and was killed upon the spot, with eight of his principal attendants. The King ordered his head and right-hand to be cut off; and then pushed on to *Cyrus's* camp, in pursuit of *Ariæus*, who commanded his horse, and had fled as soon as he had heard of his master's death. The *Grecians* at the same time were in pursuit of one part of the King's army, whilst the other part of it were plundering their camp; so that both sides thought themselves victorious. The King returned upon them in the same order of battle as at first; but the *Barbarians* fled again on all sides upon the approach of the *Grecians*, who, being very much fatigued, and night drawing on, returned to their camp, not knowing what was become of *Cyrus*, but expecting his orders the next day to complete their victory. When the news arrived to them the next morning of *Cyrus's* death, it occasioned a general consternation; and they were now to deliberate, not so much to annoy the enemy as to provide for their own safety.

This was the success of the battle, which was fought at *Cunaxa* in *Assyria*, on the banks of the river *Euphrates*, about an hundred leagues from *Babylon*. And thus fell *Cyrus* in the pursuit of his ambition; which yet was attended with so many good qualities, that he deserved a better fate; and it is very probable, from the
cir-

circumstances of the action, that if he had been more cautious in exposing himself, he had carried his point. The character of this prince is finely drawn by *Xenophon*. But not to enter further into the *Persian* affairs than is necessary to my present purpose, I will only observe of him in general from that historian, that no body of his time, whether *Grecian* or *Barbarian*, was so universally beloved. He describes him further, as a prince born for empire, and the most worthy successor of *Cyrus the Great*.

Amidst the confusion the *Grecians* were in after the battle, they sent to *Ariæus* as conqueror, and commander in chief upon *Cyrus's* death, to offer him the *Persian* crown. In the mean time the King, as conqueror also on his side, sent to them to surrender their arms, and implore his mercy; representing to them at the same time, that as they were in the heart of his dominions, surrounded with vast rivers, and numberless nations, it would be impossible for them to escape his vengeance, and therefore they had nothing to do but to submit to the present necessity. Upon debating among themselves what answer they should return, *Proxenus* desired to know of the heralds, upon what terms the King demanded their arms. *If as conqueror, it was in his power to take them; if upon any other foot, what would he give them in return?* He was seconded by *Xenophon*, who said, *They had nothing left but their arms, and their liberty; and*

The Grecians summoned to surrender their arms.

But they refuse.

and that they could not preserve the one without the other. Clearchus said to the same effect, *That if the King was disposed to be their friend, they should be in a better capacity of serving him with arms than without; if their enemy, they should have need of them for their defence.* Some indeed spoke in terms more complying, *That as they had served Cyrus faithfully, they would also serve Axtaxerxes, if he would employ them, and provided he would at the same time put them in possession of Ægypt.* At last it was agreed, that they should remain in the place where they were, and that if they advanced further, or retreated back, it should be looked upon as a declaration of war; so that by the issue of the debate, it appeared to have been managed so, as to avoid giving a direct answer, but only to amuse the King, and gain time.

Whilst this treaty was on foot, they received *Ariæus's* answer, that there were too many powerful men in *Persia*, to let him possess the throne; wherefore he intended to set out early the next morning in his return towards *Greece*; and that if they had a mind to accompany him, they should join him that night in his camp: Which accordingly they all did, except *Milthocytus*, a *Thracian*, who went with a party of three hundred men, and forty horse, to the King. The rest, in conjunction with *Ariæus's* forces, decamped by break of day, and continued their march until sun-set, when they discovered from
the

Milthocytus goes in to the Persian King with 340 horse. The rest decamp the next day.

the neighbouring villages the King was in pursuit of them : But this alarm was over the next day, when he sent to treat with them. *Clearchus* returned answer, *That his men were straitened for want of provisions; and that his affairs required him rather to fight than to enter upon a treaty.* Wherefore the King, to prevent their being desperate, sent to conduct them to several villages, where they found plenty of every thing; and after three days stay there, *Tissaphernes* came, and insinuated to them the good offices he had employed with the King, to give him leave to conduct them safe into their country; that in return they ought to acknowledge this favour, and not shew themselves averse to such terms as he could obtain for them. *Clearchus* urged in their defence, that they had been engaged in this expedition by *Cyrus*, without their knowledge or intention; that upon his death they were now freed from that engagement, and had no design upon *Artaxerxes*, or his country, provided he did not oppose them in their return. Which *Tissaphernes* agreed to on the King's part, that he should not, and promised further, that they should be furnished with all necessary provisions in their march, and that himself would return with them to his government.

Accordingly, in a few days after, they set out under his conduct : But in their march, the *Barbarians*, encamped at about a league's dis-

The treachery of Tiffaphernes.

tance from the *Grecians*, created some little distrusts and jealousies on both sides. In about fifty days, being got to the banks of the river *Zabatus*, *Clearchus*, to prevent things coming to an open rupture, had a conference with *Tiffaphernes*; wherein, among other things, he assured him of their fidelity, in regard to the truce between them, as likewise of their future service, whenever he should have occasion to employ them, and that they would always look upon him as the author of their safety and deliverance. To which *Tiffaphernes* answered, that he was glad of this occasion of coming to a right understanding with him; that indeed it was in their power to have destroyed the *Grecians* whenever they had pleased, but that he himself had prevented it, out of a desire to oblige them by his good offices, as *Cyrus* had done by his money. The result of their discourse was, that they had been misrepresented to each other by some of *Clearchus* his officers, and that he should bring them all to *Tiffaphernes*, in order to detect those who were guilty. He particularly suspected *Menon* of a design to supplant him in his command; and accordingly brought him the next day, with three other general officers, *Proxenus*, *Agiass*, and *Socrates*, attended with a guard of twenty captains, and about two hundred soldiers, upon a pretence of buying provisions in the *Persian* camp. The five general officers, upon a signal given, were immediately

diately admitted into *Tissaphernes's* tent, and put in arrest; the others, who were without, were at the same time cut in pieces, and some *Persian* horse scouring the plain, killed all the *Grecians* they met. Amidst this scene of slaughter and confusion, the *Persians* sent to them a second time, in the King's name, to lay down their arms, pretending that *Clearchus* was executed, as having been accused by *Proxenus* and *Menon* of perfidiously designing to break the truce; and that his accusers were sent for to be rewarded by the King for their discovery. But *Xenophon* suspecting the treachery, demanded, that *Proxenus* and *Menon*, as being innocent, and common friends to both, might be restored to them, as the properest persons to advise them in this exigency. To which the *Persians*, not knowing what to reply, went away. Immediately after, *Nicarchus*, one of the captains who had attended the Generals, came, wounded in the belly, and holding up his entrails with his hand, to the *Grecian* camp, and told them all the particulars of what had happened. The five generals were sent back to the King, who caused them all to be beheaded, except *Menon*, who suffered some other way after a year's torture. It does not appear why he was distinguished in this manner from the rest; though, indeed, there was some justice in it in regard to his character, which was as extraordinary as his treatment.

*The five
Grecian
Generals
executed,*

The character of Menon.

He was by birth a *Thessalian*, covetous and ambitious; but who made his ambition all along subservient to his avarice, and had no other view in his pursuit of honour but to get by it. He sought the friendship of men in power only to screen him from punishment. He concluded the readiest way to obtain his ends, was by perjury, lying and fraud; and took candor and openness for stupidity. He loved nobody; and wherever he professed a friendship, it was in order to ensnare. He did not laugh at his enemies, but always made a jest of his friends. So neither did he attempt to defraud his enemies of their property, as knowing they were too much upon their guard against him: But his friends, who were not so, he fleeced and plundered. And he valued himself as much upon his injustice and falshood, as others did upon their religion and virtue: For he thought none but cheats were to be looked upon as men of address. He made his way to great men by traducing their favourites. His manner of supporting his authority among the troops, was by committing the same crimes with them. He endeavoured to make himself feared by the mischief he could do you; and you were to take it as an obligation, that he did not do it when it was in his power. He gained the favour of *Ariæus* in his youth, by abandoning himself to his unnatural passion; and he prevailed the same way with *Aristippus* for his command in the army.

army. Some have imagined that he was pardoned by *Artaxerxes*; and conclude from thence that he was engaged in a design of betraying the *Grecians* to him; which, according to his principles, might easily be supposed: But however, this account of him does not appear to be well founded.

Clearchus was a *Spartan*, and esteemed one of the greatest captains of his time. He had done good service to his country in the *Peloponnesian* war, and was entirely devoted to the love of arms; inasmuch that he laid out all his money in war, and with the same gust and appetite with which others laid it out upon their pleasures. Hence it was, that upon the peace, he desired leave to go and chastise the *Thracians*, who had committed some insults upon the *Chersonese*. Soon after he was gone, the *Ephori* changed their minds, and recalled him; and though they passed sentence of death upon him for disobeying their orders, he proceeded on his march, beat the *Thracians* in a pitched battle, ravaged their country, and continued the war, until he entered into *Cyrus's* service; where he was pitched upon as the properest man to command the *Grecians* in this expedition: And he had talents suitable to so hardy an undertaking. He was severe in his looks, and harsh in his speech; he always punished sharply, and sometimes in anger, but generally with discretion. He was very strict in his discipline; and it was a saying

Of Clear-
chus.

of his, *That a soldier ought to be more afraid of his officer than of his enemy.* Upon action, his men desired no other general; for he then appeared mild to them, and reserved all his fierceness for the enemy: But when the danger was over, he resumed his natural roughness; and many of them, as they found opportunity, left him. None of them followed him out of inclination, but lived with him as boys do with their school-masters. However, he did every thing with them by dint of punishment; and the sum of his character is, that he was more fit to command than to obey.

Of Proxenus.

Proxenus was a *Bæotian*, and of an aspiring temper, which had engaged him in this service; though he did nothing in the pursuit of his ambition but what was consistent with honour and virtue. He was capable enough of command, but was too much the reverse of *Clearchus*. He had not the way of making himself feared where it was necessary: For he was more afraid of being ill with the soldiery than the soldiery with him. He thought it sufficient to commend good actions, without punishing the bad: For which reason he was beloved by those who acted upon principles of honour; but bad men took advantage of his easiness.

Of Agias and Socrates.

Agias was an *Arcadian*, and *Socrates* an *Achaean*; they had both lived without reproach, either as to their military, or their civil conduct.

The

The *Grecians* had, ever since the battle of *Cyrus*, been so upon their guard, and were withal so bold and resolute, that the *Persians* despaired of subduing them by open force, and therefore had recourse to this treacherous stratagem, which had so far succeeded, that the loss of the Generals was very near breaking and dispersing the whole body. The news of it struck them with the utmost consternation: They expected every moment when they should be attacked in their camp: They considered that they were at the very gates of the King; surrounded with great rivers; in the midst of many nations, their enemies; six or seven hundred leagues from *Greece*; without officers to lead them; in want of all manner of provisions, and of means to get any; besides that, they had no cavalry; and therefore if they were victorious could not pursue their enemies; and if they should happen to be defeated, must every man of them be cut off. In these perplexing thoughts they passed the night without sleep, despairing ever to see their native country more.

It was upon this occasion that *Xenophon* signalized himself. He was an intimate friend of *Proxenus*, who had invited him into *Asia*, and presented him to *Cyrus*, who had also expressed a particular esteem for him; but hitherto he had served only as a volunteer in the army. The next morning he assembled the officers, and represented to them the misery of their condition;

Xenophon and others succeed in the command.

that they could expect no mercy from the King, if they fell into his hands; to prevent which, they had nothing to depend upon but their own personal bravery; and that no time ought to be lost in providing for their defence. He therefore advised to choose new officers in the place of those who were murdered, and to resolve to make their way home in the best manner they could. Accordingly, they chose *Timasion* in the room of *Clearchus*, *Xanticles* in that of *Socrates*, *Cleanor* in that of *Agius*, *Philefius* in that of *Mennon*, and *Xenophon* in that of his friend *Proxenus*. He having encouraged the army with a long harangue in praise of their ancestors, proposed to them, for the safety and expedition of their return, to burn their tents, carriages, and all unnecessary baggage, and to march in the form of a hollow square, that, in case they should be attacked, they might be prepared to receive the enemy with a front either way. All which being approved of, *Cherisophus* the *Spartan* led the van, and *Timasion* and *Xenophon* brought up the rear.

The Grecians pursue their march.

They bent their march towards the heads of the great rivers, in order to pass them where they were fordable: But they had made very little way before they were followed by a party of the enemy's archers and slingers, commanded by *Mitbridates*, which galled their rear, and wounded several of them, who being heavy-armed, and without cavalry, could make no resistance.

resistance. To prevent the like inconvenience, *Xenophon* furnished two hundred *Rhodians* with slings, and mounted fifty more of his men upon baggage horses; so that when *Mithridates* came up with them a second time, and with a much greater body, he repulsed them with loss, and made good his retreat with this handful of men, until he arrived near to the city of *Larissa*, on the banks of the *Tigris*. From thence they marched to another desolate city called *Mepsila*; and about four leagues from that place, *Tissaphernes* came up to them with his whole army in order of battle; but, after several skirmishes, was forced to retire. In a few days after, he secured an eminence, over which the *Grecians* were obliged to make their way: Which *Xenophon* perceiving, took a detachment of the army, and with great diligence gained the top of a mountain which commanded that eminence, from whence he easily dislodged the enemy, and made good a passage for the rest of his troops into the plain, where they found plenty of provisions, though *Tissaphernes* had done what he could before, to burn and destroy the country.

*The Bar-
barians
repulsed by
them*

But still they were under as great difficulties as ever, being bounded on the one hand by the *Tigris*, and on the other by inaccessible mountains, inhabited by the *Carduchi*, a fierce and warlike people; and who, *Xenophon* says, had cut off an army of six score thousand *Persians*

to

*They are
attacked
by the
Carduchi.*

to a man, by reason of the difficulty of the ways. However, having no boats to cross the river, and the passage through the mountains opening into the rich plains of *Armenia*, they resolved to pursue their march that way. These *Barbarians* soon took the alarm; but not being prepared to meet them in a body, they possessed themselves of the tops of the rocks and mountains, and from thence annoyed them with darts and great stones, which they threw down into the defiles through which they passed; in which they were also attacked by several other parties; and though their loss was not considerable, yet, what with storms and famine, besides seven tedious days march, and being continually forced to fight their way, they underwent more fatigue and hardship than they had suffered from the *Persians* during the whole expedition.

*They fight
their way
into Ar-
menia.*

They were now got to the banks of the *Cen- trites*, which divides the mountains from *Arme- nia*: And whilst the *Carduchi* were still in view of them, and pouring down upon their backs, they had this deep river before them, with a body of troops on the other side to dispute their passage. Notwithstanding which, they forded it with all their baggage, and fought their way into *Armenia*; where *Tyribazus* the governor offered them free passage and provisions, upon condition they did not ravage the country. But his design was to cut them off in the mountains; which they being apprized of, fell upon

upon him first, defeated him, and took his tent. Soon after they arrived at the *Euphrates*, which they passed near the source, and continued their march through the desert part of *Armenia*, where several of them were lost in the deep snows, and the rest suffered extremely by cold and hunger. After a stay of seven days to refresh themselves in the villages, they proceeded through the countries of the *Phasiani*, *Tachoi*, and *Chalybes*; which latter were reckoned the stoutest people of the *Barbarians*. But the *Grecians* again forced the passes they held in the mountains, and made good their descent into the plain. After which they arrived at the river *Harpasus*, and from thence at a rich populous city called *Gymnias*. They were very well received by the governor of the province, who dismissed them with a guide that brought them in five days within sight of the sea; at which they burst out into tears and exclamations of joy, and embraced their officers for having brought them within reach of several *Grecian* colonies, by which they might hope to be protected the rest of their march. And of this they had an instance in the next province belonging to the *Macrones*, who at first appeared in arms against them; but finding them to be their countrymen, brought them provisions, and gave them free passage. From thence they advanced to the mountains of *Colchis*, where they met with some opposition, but got the better, and, in two days more,

*Arrive at
the Eu-
phrates.*

*They are
within
sight of the
sea.*

Arrive at
Trapezus
a Grecian
colony.

more, arrived at *Trapezus*, a *Grecian* colony of the *Sinopeans*, situate in the country of *Colchis*, upon the *Euxine* sea.

They re-
view their
forces at
Cerasus.

Here being almost beat out with the fatigues of their long march, they resolved to make the rest of their way by sea, and deputed *Cheresophus* to the *Spartan* Admiral for ships for that purpose. Whilst the army waited his return, they subsisted themselves by their incursions upon the *Barbarians*; until at last, after thirty days stay, hearing nothing of him, and the country being quite exhausted, they put their women, old and sick men, and part of their baggage, on board some vessels which they had stopt at *Trapezus*, whilst the rest renewed their march by land, and in three days reached *Cerasus*, another *Grecian* colony; where, upon a review of their forces, they were found to amount to eight thousand six hundred, the rest of the ten thousand being dead either of the fatigue, sickness, or their wounds.

Opposed by
the *Mosynæci*, and
repulsed;

but rally
and are
victorious

Arrive at
Cotyora.

Upon their arrival on the frontiers of the *Mosynæci*, they were vigorously opposed, and repulsed with loss; but being encouraged by *Xenophon*, they rallied, took the metropolis, and by that means became masters of the whole country; from thence they continued their march along the coast, until they arrived at *Cotyora*. The distance from the field of battle to this place is computed at about six hundred and twenty leagues; which from the day of the battle took them

them up eight months time; of which they marched an hundred and twenty-two days. They had hitherto preserved themselves in an entire body; but being afterwards broken and diminished by their divisions, and other accidents, *Xenophon*, for that reason, seems to finish their *retreat* at this place. But as he still prosecutes his account of them, it may be proper to see what further difficulties they met with, until they arrived nearer home, and passed again into the service of their country.

The inhabitants of this place at first refusing them admittance, they ravaged the country, and lived at discretion, until, by the interposition of the *Sinopeans*, to whom *Cotyora* was tributary, they were supplied from the town. During their stay here of forty-five days, there was a general enquiry made, in the nature of a court-martial, into all the abuses and offences that had been committed in the army, whether by officers or others, since the death of *Cyrus*, and punishments allotted accordingly. Among others, *Xenophon* was accused of having treated several of the soldiers ill; but he made it appear he had done nothing but what was necessary to preserve the discipline, and was acquitted with a general applause. He had also formed a project of settling them in these parts, and founding a *Grecian* colony; which was approved by some; but his enemies representing it to the army only as a more honourable way of abandoning them, and
to

*Xenophon
accused,*

*but ac-
quitted.*

to the inhabitants, as a design to subdue and enslave the country, he was forced to give over that enterprize. However, the noise of it had this good effect, that the natives did what they could, in a friendly manner, to procure their departure, advising them to go by sea, as the safest way, and furnished them with a sufficient number of transports for that purpose.

*The army
mutiny,*

Accordingly they embarked with a fair wind, and the next day got into the harbour of *Sinope*, where *Cherisophus* met them with some gallies; but, instead of the money they had also expected from him, he only told them they should be paid their arrears as soon as they got out of the *Euxine* sea. But this answer occasioned a great deal of murmuring and discontent among them; so that they resolved to put themselves under one single General, desiring *Xenophon* in the most pressing and affectionate terms, to accept of that command; which he modestly declined, and procured the choice to fall upon *Cherisophus*. But he enjoyed it not above six or seven days; for no sooner were they arrived at *Heraclea* than the army deposed him for refusing to extort a sum of money from the inhabitants of that city; which being a *Grecian* colony, *Xenophon* likewise refused to concern himself in that affair; so that the army being disappointed in their hopes of plunder, fell into a mutiny, and divided into three bodies; of which the *Achæans* and *Arcadians* were the principal, consisting of four thousand

and divide

thousand five hundred foot, and commanded by ten of their own officers, *Cberisophus* retained another, of two thousand one hundred; and *Xenophon* the third, of about the same number, forty whereof were horse; which indeed was all the cavalry they had.

The first body having obtained ships of the *Heracleotæ*, sailed to *Clape*, a port of *Bithynia*. *Cberisophus* led his troops by land, leaving what ships he had to *Xenophon*; who set sail, and landing on the confines of *Bithynia*, marched into the country. The *Arcadians* landing in the night, had plundered the villages; upon which the inhabitants appeared in arms, and almost entirely cut off two regiments, and surrounded a hill where the rest were encamped. *Xenophon* in the mean time receiving advice of their condition, marched to their relief, setting on fire every thing in his way that was combustible; which struck such a terror into the enemy, that they decamped by night: Upon which the *Grecians* were happily reunited, and encamped at the port of *Calpe*, where they settled the command as before, substituting *Neon* in the room of *Cberisophus*, who died here, and making it death for any man henceforward, to propose the dividing of the army. But being straightened for provisions, they were forced to spread themselves in the villages; where *Pharnabazus's* horse being joined by the inhabitants, cut in pieces five hundred of them. The rest escaping to an hill, were

Are reunited.

Defeat
Pharna-
bazus.

Arrive at
Byzanti-
um.

Propose to
plunder the
city,

but are re-
strained by
Xeno-
phon.

were rescued and brought off by *Xenophon*, who after this led them through a large forest, where *Pharnabazus* had posted his troops to oppose their passage; but they entirely defeated him, and pursued their march to *Chrysopolis* of *Chalcedon*, having got a great deal of booty in their way, and from thence to *Byzantium*.

Pharnabazus, who feared they would be strong enough to dispossess him of his government, had been practising with *Cleander*, the governor of *Byzantium*, and *Anaxibius*, the *Spartan* Admiral, to use all possible means to hasten their departure. Accordingly, *Anaxibius* got them out of the city gate, under a pretence of reviewing them, and told them they would meet with plenty of provisions in the *Thracian* villages, and that they should proceed to the *Chersonese*, where he would take care they should be paid their arrears. But they were so ill satisfied with these promises, that they re-entered the gates in a tumultuous manner, and put the city into the utmost confusion. They addressed themselves to *Xenophon*, telling him, that now was the time to make himself great, and them rich, and that they ought not to slip this opportunity of furnishing themselves with every thing they wanted. To appease them, he seemed at first to comply with their demands; then having drawn them up in a large square of the city, he represented to them the ill consequence of plundering the city, and thereby incensing the *Spartans*, who held the
love-

sovereignty of *Greece*, and had *Athens* in their alliance: That this would involve their country in a dangerous war, and themselves in inevitable ruin, since it was equally impracticable for them to make their retreat to the *Persian*, or any of the countries through which they had forced their passage, or to return home; to which he added, how much it would sully the glory of their *retreat*, that after having spared so many of the *Barbarian* cities, they had plundered the first they came to in their own country, and murdered so many of their friends and relations. This harangue had so good an effect, that they immediately changed their resolution, and marched out of the city without committing the least disorder; which was entirely owing to *Xenophon*, who, to the courage and conduct he had shewn in every circumstance of the *retreat*, had added this extraordinary instance of his mildness and humanity, and the force of his eloquence. And this was testified of him at large in a letter from *Cbio*, a philosopher then in the town, to a friend of his, wherein he tells him, *He had been an eye-witness of the skill and temper, with which Xenophon had allayed the fury of the soldiers; that he could not forbear going to thank him as the author of his deliverance, and was struck with the sight of a man who had nothing terrible or severe in his looks, but entertained him in the most meek and agreeable manner on several subjects, and who knew so well how to reduce philosophy to practice.*

Xenophon

leaves the
army,

but is pre-
vailed up-
on to re-
turn to it.

He assists
Seuthes in
Thrace.

The troops being thus appeased, *Xenophon* took his leave of them, and retired into the city, with a design to embark for *Athens*: But as they proceeded to the neighbouring villages, they were divided in their opinion as to what course they should take. In these uncertainties, he was prevailed upon to return to the army, and was received with all imaginable demonstrations of joy. At the same time there was an overture made to him from *Seuthes*, King of the *Odrysians* in *Thrace*, with a promise of great rewards both to the officers and soldiers, in case they would enter into his service. He accepted the offer, and led them into the service of that prince; who, by their assistance, gained great advantages over his enemies; insomuch that the whole country submitted to him.

They had no sooner re-established him in his dominions, but *Thimbron*, the *Spartan* General, sent them word, he was ordered by the state to declare war against *Tissaphernes*; and that they should receive all fitting encouragement, if they would assist him. *Seuthes* not being able to pay them their arrears, and having no further occasion for them, did what he could to encourage the proposal; though they were of themselves desirous enough to serve again in the cause of their country; besides that they were glad of such an occasion of revenging the treachery of *Tissaphernes* to them in their retreat: So that they easily gave into it, and were so warm upon it,

it, that an *Arcadian* accused *Xenophon* of having detained them so long out of that service, only to enrich himself at the expence of their lives and labours; and added, that as to his part, what little he had, he would freely give to see him stoned to death. Another stood up, and seconded this motion; and a third spoke to the same purpose. He made it appear in his answer to this charge, that he had acted in every thing for the good and safety of the army; that, as to his own particular, he had not received the rewards which were promised him, nor even so much as several of the other captains; and appealed to *Seuthes* himself for the truth of it. He modestly hinted to them his past services, which they had promised never to forget, when in their dangers and fatigues, they gave him no other name than that of *father, saviour, and deliverer*; and in the end reproached them with the rankest malice and ingratitude. They were so well satisfied with his defence, that several spoke in his favour, and nothing more of a complaint was urged against him: So that they prepared for their new expedition, and he embarked with them, and sailed to *Lampsacus* in *Mysia*. From thence they marched to *Troas*, and crossing mount *Ida*, arrived at *Antandros*, whence coasting along, they gained the plain of *Thebe*, and arrived at *Pergamus* in *Lydia*, where *Xenophon*, with a detachment of three hundred men, took a *Persian* lord with all his equipage, and a great

*He is again
accused by
the army,*

*but is ac-
quitted.*

*His success
at Perga-
mus.*

Thim-
bron takes
the army
under his
command.

sum of money. The next day *Thimbron* arriving there, took them under his command, and joined them to his own troops, in order to carry on the war in *Asia*.

A. M.
3605.
Olymp.
95. 1.

Thus in the first year of the ninety-fifth *Olympiad*, ended this memorable expedition of this body of *Grecians*; who, notwithstanding the many adventures and impediments they met with, and which took up so much of their time, performed the whole journey of between four and five thousand *English* miles forwards and backwards, in the space of about nineteen months, from their first setting out, until their arrival at *Pergamus*. It is true, indeed, that upon a review of the forces at *Cerasus*, there appeared to be but eight thousand six hundred men; and after their service under *Seuthes*, there is mention made but of six thousand; which last diminution of them was owing to their divisions, and going in separate bodies in search of plunder, as they came nearer home. But yet, that any such number of them should escape, as did actually reach the confines of *Greece*, seems almost incredible. That, after the death of *Cyrus*, which struck such a damp into the rest of his forces, they alone should have courage enough to continue the war, to oblige the *Persian* to sue to them for peace, and furnish them with provisions; that, after the treacherous murder of their officers, they should be still hardy enough to make their way in defiance of

of a numberless army, that could neither take them by force, nor circumvent them by stratagem; that they should traverse the body of that vast empire, with so many barbarous nations on all sides, to dispute their passage over rocks and mountains almost inaccessible, and such rivers as the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*; and all this with the countenance rather of conquerors, than of despairing successful adventurers, exposed to the fury of a powerful incensed monarch with a victorious army: These are circumstances, which would not easily gain credit, if they had not been described and attested by *Xenophon*, who has done it with such exactness and fidelity, and at the same time with such modesty in regard to himself, that the only doubt remaining, is, whether he gained more honour by the share he had in the expedition, or by the account he has given of it.

But it is time now to return to *Greece*, which we left chiefly under the direction of the *Spartans*, who contenting themselves with the submission of the several states to them at home, were meditating other great designs, and resolved to push their conquests abroad. The first occasion that offered, was from the *Ionians*: They were afraid of the power of *Tissaphernes*, who, as a reward for the service he had done *Artaxerxes* in the late war with his brother *Cyrus*, had the government of all the cities he had possessed in those parts, conferred on him; and therefore

Thim-
bron re-
called and
banished.

they begged assistance from *Sparta* to support them in their liberties. Their request was easily granted; and a body of five thousand men, with three hundred *Athenian* horse, were sent to them, under the command of *Thimbron*, who appeared among them, but would not venture to take the field until he was joined by the remainder of the *ten thousand* at *Pergamus*; with which forces he took that, and several other ill-fortified towns, and then laid siege to *Larissa*. But before he could take it he was recalled by the *Ephori*, and banished, for having suffered the soldiers to pillage the countries of their allies; and was succeeded in the command by *Dercylidas*.

Socrates
accused.

Athens, during the time of the expedition of the *ten thousand*, and the breaking out of this fresh war in *Asia*, was very quiet with its neighbours, and endeavouring to recover itself from its late confusions in the government at home. But there were still some seeds of rancour and malice left among the citizens, which, two years after the expulsion of the *thirty*, broke out upon *Socrates*, and occasioned his death. The chief instrument in it was *Anytus*, who engaged *Melitus* and *Lycon* to join with him in accusing him to the state. Accordingly *Melitus* drew up his accusation, containing in substance, *That he did not acknowledge the gods of the republic, but introduced new deities in their room*; and further, *That he corrupted the youth*. He urged in his defence, that

that he had assisted, as others did, at the sacrifices and solemn festivals, and appealed to *Melitus* himself for the truth of it. He denied his endeavouring to establish any new worship: He owned indeed, he had received frequent admonitions from a *divine voice*, which he called his *Dæmon*, that constantly attended him, and discovered to him things to come; that he had often made use of this divine assistance for the service of himself and his friends: But that if he had been thus particularly favoured from heaven, it was owing chiefly to the regularity of his life and conduct; and that the approbation of the gods, which was given him as the reward of his virtue, ought not to be objected to him as his crime. Then as to the other article, wherein he was branded with a criminal passion for young men, he said, he had no other view in his conversation with them than to regulate their morals; that as he could not do this with any public authority, he was therefore forced to insinuate himself into their company, and to use in a manner the same methods to reclaim, that others did to corrupt them.

How far the whole charge affected him, is not easy to determine. It is certain, that amidst so much zeal and superstition as then reigned in *Athens*, he never durst openly oppose the received religion, and was therefore forced to preserve an outward shew of it: But it is very probable, from the discourses he frequently held with his

friends, that in his heart he despised and laughed at their monstrous opinions, and ridiculous mysteries, as having no other foundation than the fables of the poets; and that he had attained to a notion of the *one, only, true God*; inso-much that, upon the account both of his belief of the deity, and the exemplariness of his life, some have thought fit to rank him with the *Christian philosophers*. And indeed his behaviour upon his trial was more like that of a *Christian martyr* than of an *impious Pagan*; where he appeared with such a composed confidence, as naturally results from innocence, and rather, as *Cicero* observes, as if he were to determine upon his judges, than to supplicate them as a criminal.

But how slight soever the proofs were against him, the faction was powerful enough to find him guilty. There was the form of a process against him, and his irreligion was the pretence upon which it was grounded; but his death was certainly a concerted thing. His steady uninterrupted course of obstinate virtue, which had made him in many cases appear singular, and oppose whatever he thought illegal or unjust, without any regard to times or persons, had procured him a great deal of envy and ill-will: Inso-much that he had, several years before, been publicly attacked upon the stage in the *play* called *the clouds*, where he is introduced as the author of many gross impieties; which some say,

say, *Aristophanes* wrote out of a personal pique to him; others, that he did it only according to the liberty then indulged to the stage, and intended, in the person of *Socrates*, to expose and ridicule the philosophers in general. But most are of opinion, that it was at the instigation of *Anytus*, who looked upon him as a dangerous man, and took that method of preparing the people for his condemnation, whenever an opportunity should offer. This agrees with the terms proposed to him, even after the accusation was given in, when perhaps he was not sure of carrying his point against him: He hinted to him, that if he would talk less freely, and not take upon him to censure and arraign the administration, he would yet endeavour to stifle the affair, and save him. It was upon the same account that he was forbid conversing with the young men: Those at the helm were jealous of his tampering with them in relation to the government; and this seems to be the grounds of that part of his accusation. But he was not to be bought by bribes, or deterred by menaces; in short, he had more plainness and integrity than the times would bear; and therefore fell a sacrifice to the corruption of those whom his honesty had made his enemies.

It was a privilege in *Athens*, after conviction, to demand a mitigation of the punishment: But that, he said, would be owning himself guilty; and he chose rather to defy and incense his judges; so that they unanimously passed sentence
of

*He is con-
demned,*

*and exe-
cuted.*

of death upon him, by drinking the juice of hemlock, which was not put in execution until thirty days after; during which time he conversed with his friends with the same evenness and serenity of mind he had ever done: And though they had bribed the jailor for his escape, he refused it, as an ungenerous violation of the laws. He was about seventy years old when he suffered; which made him say, he thought himself happy to quit life at a time when it begins to be troublesome; and that his death was rather a deliverance than a punishment. This agrees with his last words to his friend *Crito*, just before he expired; *we owe a cock*, said he, to *Æsculapius*, *do not fail to pay it him*; thereby intimating, that he should sacrifice for him to that god, as if he had recovered from a disease. His innocence soon after appeared in such lively colours, that the *Athenians* imputed all the misfortunes of the republick to his unjust condemnation; and to avert the vengeance of heaven, thought themselves obliged to make suitable expressions of repentance, which they did by revoking his sentence with a public solemn lamentation, and by condemning his accusers. From thence their love and respect to his memory rose even to veneration; insomuch that they erected his statue, and dedicated a chapel to him.

*His cha-
racter.*

He was born in the fourth year of the seventy-seventh *Olympiad*, of indifferent parentage, and
was

was bred to his father's business of a statuary; but soon quitted it for the study of natural philosophy, wherein he made a good proficiency. But finding it so defective and unsatisfactory, that he could ground no certain principles upon such a diversity of opinions, he turned his thoughts wholly to the nature of man; and by diving deep into the passions and affections, endeavoured rather to cultivate the heart than the reason, and rather to regulate the manners than refine the wit. It is said of him, that he had naturally a disposition to vice; but he so far got the better of himself as to make virtue habitual to him, and was therefore the better prepared to implant it in others: So that he was the first who settled the standing rules of good and ill, and is to be looked upon as the *Founder of Moral Philosophy*. His life and doctrine were one continued lesson of virtue; which he inculcated with candour and modesty, easiness and affability, and tempered the dryness of his maxims with an air of humour and pleasantry, as knowing that, to please, was the surest method to persuade; and by this means he took off that rugged and unfociable dress that philosophy then wore. If he sometimes went out of his character, it was in opposition to the sophists; he could not bear their deluding all the youth of that time with a superficial tincture of the sciences; and therefore took all occasions of confuting their false reasonings, and of mortifying their
their

their arrogance. As to his own way of reasoning, it was very just and yet uncommon. He began with doubting, enquiring, and asking of questions, as if he sought rather to receive instruction than to give it; and from the answers which must be naturally made, his inferences were undeniable. He had a way of leading people insensibly from one absurdity to another, until they came to the point he aimed at; and, by the most familiar comparisons, made the truth so plain as to become in a manner the object of their senses: By which means he avoided the odium of dictating, and left to every one the pleasure of convincing himself. His studies did not so wholly employ his time, as to make him, in other respects, an idle member of the common-wealth. He made several campaigns in the *Peloponnesian* war; where being in the actions at *Potidæa*, *Delium* and *Amphipolis*, he had the good fortune to save *Alcibiades* and *Xenophon* from falling into the enemy's hands; and he gave such further proofs of his courage, that when his party was at last forced to retreat, it is said of him, *he did not fly as others, but measured back the field by inches*. Some part of his time he devoted to his love of music and rhetorick. He had also the reputation of a good poet; insomuch that he is said to have had a hand in several of *Euripides's* plays. But he had used these kinds of study rather as amusements than his business, and in subserviency to his

his other great designs. It was upon these occasions that the oracle stiled him the *Wiseſt Man*: It was by theſe methods that he kept up the reputation of the city, and, by his numerous followers, eſtabliſhed in it the glory of philoſophy, and that at a time when it had loſt the power of empire.

C H A P. II.

From the death of *Socrates* to the peace of *Antalcidas*.

Containing the ſpace of 12 years.

DERCYLLIDAS had now taken *Thimbron's* army under his command; and finding he had both *Tiſſaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* to deal with at the ſame time, took occaſion, from a pique between them, to praſtiſe ſecretly with the firſt, who was the moſt active, and had the greateſt intereſt in the ſoldiery, and ſtruck up a peace with him, in order to attack the other with more vigour and ſecurity. Accordingly, he invaded his province; and ſeveral of the *Æolian* cities, as ſoon as he appeared before them, opened their gates to him; ſome, after a little ſhew of reſiſtance, ſubmitted, and others he gained by ſtratagem; ſo that in eight days he took

A. M.
3606.
Olymp.
95. 2.

Dercyllidas his ſucceſſes.

took possession of nine cities. After which he made a truce with *Pharnabazus*, and retired to *Bithynia*, where he spent the winter in destroying and ravaging the country for provisions.

Olymp.
95. 3.

Being continued another year in his command, he renewed the truce with *Pharnabazus*; and, going into *Thrace*, shut up the *Isthmus* of the *Chersonese* with a wall, to protect the neighbouring cities from the incursions of the *Barbarians*. From thence repassing into *Asia*, he took *Atarna*, a strong place in *Ionia*, in possession of the exiles from *Chios*; but this was a work of above seven months. Afterwards, understanding that *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* had joined their forces against him, he marched with a design to give them battle; but first, in an interview with them, demanded the liberty of the *Grecian* cities. *Tissaphernes* demanded on his side, that the *Spartan* army should withdraw out of the country; on which condition a truce was concluded, until such time as they could receive further instructions from their respective masters.

The Spar-
tans quar-
rel with
the Eleans.

Whilst these things were doing in *Asia*, the *Spartans* began a quarrel with the *Eleans*, for having in their former alliances constantly sided with *Athens*, *Argos*, and other states at war with them; and for not having admitted them, as well as the rest of *Greece*, to the *Olympick Games*. Upon these, and such like other frivolous pretences, they sent ambassadors to demand of them, that they should restore the cities under
their

their jurisdiction to their ancient rights and privileges ; and, in case of a refusal, to make a formal declaration of war. The *Eleans* urged in their defence, that as they had gained those cities by the sword, they had the sole right of using and disposing of them as they thought proper. Whereupon *Agis*, one of the *Spartan* Kings, was sent to harass the country with fire and sword ; who, by appearing in that manner among them, encouraged *Leptis*, and several other towns, to revolt from them ; so that meeting with little opposition, he marched to *Elis* ; and as he was upon the point of taking it, and plundering it, the inhabitants capitulated, and agreed to the terms insisted on, of dismantling their own city, and of making *Cyllene*, and all the other towns, free and independent of them : And thus the *Eleans* were taken into the alliance of *Sparta*. The grounds of this rupture were so slight and trifling, that it plainly appeared how industriously the *Spartans* had promoted it, and how greedily they laid hold of every thing that looked like a handle for exerting their power, lest they should lose that spirit and discipline, by which they had arrived to it, and not be able to maintain the title they then enjoyed of *the Protectors and Arbitrators of Greece*. But this notion carried them so far as to make them guilty of the same injuries and abuses they pretended to redress ; and in the end proved destructive both to themselves and their neighbours.

Agis

*Agis the
Spartan
King dies.*

*Is succeed-
ed by Age-
filaus.*

Agis had made two campaigns of this expedition; after which he returned home and died, and had a monument erected for him more sumptuous and magnificent than any of his predecessors. He left a son, called *Leotychides*; but his legitimacy being suspected, his uncle *Agefilaus* disputed the succession with him, and being supported by *Lysander*, carried it. His reign was ushered in with a conspiracy against him; an account whereof being given in to the *Ephori*, they apprehended one *Cinadon* as the principal; and being asked how he came to be concerned in this treason, he could give no other reason for it than that he could not bear any man in the city greater than himself; upon which he was executed, and several of his accomplices.

The *Phœnicians* were at this time fitting out a great fleet for the service of the *Persians*; which so alarmed the *Spartans*, that they resolved to send a fresh army into *Asia*, upon the old pretence of freeing the *Grecian* cities. The matter was proposed by *Lysander*, who also desired the command of these forces, having a design to re-establish in those cities the *Decemvirate*, which was the form of government he was always most fond of. But *Agefilaus* inclining to go himself, the other desisted; though it came to be a long debate, whether they should trust him with that post, on account of an advice the Oracle of *Delphi* had given them, *That the republick should go near to be destroyed, when the*
regal

regal government halted; for *Agefilaus* was lame of one leg. This had also been made use of as an objection to him in his pretensions to the succession: But at last they salved the matter, with this resolution, *That it was better for the King to halt than the kingdom*; and accordingly he was sent with eight thousand men, and provisions for six months.

Who is sent into Asia.

Being arrived at *Ephesus*, *Tissaphernes* amused him for some time, under a pretence of waiting for dispatches from the King his master; and having in the mean time got together a great army, let *Agefilaus* know he would declare war against him, if he did not retire out of *Asia*. But he was so incensed at his tricking him in this manner, that he immediately entered *Phrygia*, where he took several towns, and met *Pharnabazus's* forces; but for want of cavalry did not venture a battle.

A. M.
3609.
Olymp.
96. 1.
His success there.

But having soon after procured a great number of horse, which he had demanded of the cities there, by way of contribution, he engaged *Tissaphernes's* army, and gained a signal victory near the river *Pactolus*, where he forced the enemy's camp, and found in it a great deal of money, and other rich booty. *Tissaphernes* himself not being in the action, the King suspected his fidelity, and looking upon him as the author of this, and several other miscarriages, caused him to be beheaded.

Olymp.
96. 2.

The next year he sent *Titbraustes* in his room; who endeavoured to gain upon *Agefilaus* by treaty. He sent to let him know that his predecessor had deservedly been punished with death, as being the author of this war; that as to his own part he would pursue other measures, and would allow the *Asiatic* cities their liberty, provided they would pay the customary tribute, and that the army withdrew. To which the other answered, he could do nothing in it till he received orders from *Sparta*. However, *Titbraustes* prevailed with him in the mean time, to draw his forces towards *Phrygia*, and gave him thirty talents for their subsistence. Upon his march he received dispatches from *Sparta*, to let him know the state approved of his proceedings, and gave him a power of appointing an Admiral, to act in concert with him by sea. Accordingly, he procured from the isles, and maritime towns, an hundred and twenty gallies, and gave the command of them to *Pisander*, his wife's brother, a man of fire and ambition enough, but in other respects not equal to that charge, especially considering he had so experienced and vigilant a commander as *Conon*, to deal with.

He appoints Pisander Admiral.

However these great preparations from *Sparta* gave a fresh alarm to the *Persians*; who, finding they could not prevail upon *Agefilaus*, either by menaces or persuasions, to quit *Asia*, resolved upon a more effectual expedient, by making

making a diversion, and removing the seat of the war. They knew how ill affected most of the *Grecian* states were to that of *Sparta*, on account of her late absolute and tyrannical treatment of them, and thought this the most proper time to stir them up against her, and to rouse in them a sense of recovering their liberty. To which purpose *Titbraustes* sent over

Timocrates to practise with the orators, and other leading men of the principal cities; and, to make his commission more effectual, gave him fifty talents to dispose of among them, as he saw proper. It was upon this occasion, that *Agésilas* afterwards, upon his return home, said, *He had been drove out of Asia by thirty thousand archers*; by which he meant so many pieces of the *Persian* coin, which was stamped with the figure of an archer. *Conon* is by some thought to have been the author of this advice. He had, during his retreat in *Asia*, after the defeat of the *Athenians* at *Ægospotamos*, made it his business to ingratiate himself with the *Persians*, in hopes, by them, to gain an opportunity of retrieving the misfortunes of his country. With that view, he took all occasions to incense them against the *Spartans*, and to traverse their designs; insomuch that *Nepos* ascribes it to him, that *Agésilas* did not penetrate further into *Asia*, and carry his conquests as far as mount *Taurus*. And *Justin* makes him signalize himself by many great exploits

The Persians incense the Thebans and other states against Sparta.

against that King personally. But the accounts of both these historians, in that respect, are too confused and inconsistent, to be reconciled with others, or even with themselves: Neither can we, with any certainty, affirm that he appeared in action, until after *Agefilaus* had quitted *Asia*. We may however conclude, that he was before that, making use of his credit at the *Persian* court, to procure an armament at sea, and that he was at least very instrumental, if not principally concerned, in forming a confederacy of the other states of *Greece* against *Sparta*.

The first whom *Timocrates* treated with upon this subject, were the *Thebans*, who easily hearkened to the proposal, and received the presents. He met with the like success at *Argos*, and *Corinth*: and these states worked up several others to accuse and murmur against the *Spartans*, in order to their uniting against them. It is observable, this is the first notorious instance of the *Grecians* being corrupted with the *Persian* gold. So much did they now begin to sink from that zealous spirit of honour and integrity, concord and unanimity, by which they were animated in the first *Persian* wars. It does not indeed appear, that the *Persians* had before made them any such gross overtures to betray and sell their country: But it might probably be, because they thought it in vain. They knew they were not enemies to be tampered with in such a manner; they found them every where

where in earnest, when they moved against them as one soul and body, when they laid aside all domestic dissensions, to pursue the common enemy; and, in short, acted upon no other principle than the love of liberty, and the defence of their country. This was the plain, hardy and untainted age of *Greece*, which might have been of a much longer duration, if its inhabitants had contented themselves with the glory they had acquired at home. But these successes soon fired them with an ambition of making themselves more formidable, by enlarging their bounds, and extending their conquests: So that by throwing themselves out in colonies, and carrying their arms abroad, they had a freer converse with other nations: And as by this means they arrived to quicker degrees of knowledge and politeness; so on the other hand, they became more luxurious and effeminate, and more open to the charms and temptations of riches. They received the first impressions of this kind from the footing they got in *Asia*, where they were struck and dazzled with the pomp, wealth and magnificence of the *Persian* governors: And though in all the actions they had there, they still behaved like *Grecians*, and with a sense of glory; yet they expressed too great an eagerness to enrich themselves with plunder. In short, the love of money was now rooted in their affections; and it soon after visibly appeared in the effects it

F 3

produced.

produced. For as the *Grecians* had been bribed to quit their pretensions in *Asia*, so others afterwards made use of the same methods to invade *Greece*: And this will appear in the sequel of the story to be one of the principal causes of its total subversion. As the *Spartans* kept up longest to the rigour of their discipline, and the force of their laws, they were a great while proof against corruption and bribery; but the contagion still spreading, they at last yielded to the example of their neighbours. It was then *Greece* became so divided and irresolute, as to admit of no means for its preservation; when not only each state, but also the leading men in that state, had separate views of their own, without any regard to the good of the whole.

The Thebans engage the Athenians in the quarrel.

The *Thebans*, as they were the first gained over to the *Persian* interest, so they were the most active in promoting it. To strengthen their alliance, they sent Ambassadors to the *Athenians*, with a long representation of the present posture of affairs; wherein they artfully insinuated their zeal and affection to their state; from thence they took occasion to inveigh against the tyranny of *Sparta*, and concluded with telling them, that now was the time to throw off the yoke, and to recover their former splendor and authority. The *Athenians*, though they had no share of the *Persian* money, needed not many arguments to engage them in a rupture

ture of this kind, for which they had been so long waiting a fit opportunity. *Hostilities begun.*

The first act of hostility broke out between the *Locri Opuntii*, and the *Phocians*, upon a dispute about a piece of ground; and both sides appealed to their respective confederates for justice and protection. The *Locri* were the aggressors, at the instigation of the *Thebans*; and the *Spartans* espoused the latter, upon a particular pique they had to *Thebes*, which they thought it necessary to resent at this time, when they found several other states arming against them. Accordingly they ordered *Pausanias* to march with the *Peloponnesian* forces, and sent *Lyfander* before to engage other cities in *Boeotia*; where having got together a considerable army, he invested *Haliartus*. The *Thebans* immediately marched with their whole strength; and taking the advantage of attacking him before *Pausanias* could come up to his assistance, defeated his army, and he himself was killed on the spot. *Lyfander killed.*

Thus fell this great man, after so many signal services to his country, in giving *Athens* the most fatal blow she had ever received; and in raising *Sparta* upon her ruins, to a higher pitch of power and grandeur than she ever attained, either before or after him. As it was by his means that *Sparta* did at this time, in a manner, give law both to *Greece* and *Asia*; so he himself became no less absolute in *Sparta* than *she*. *His character.*

He was among her enemies and allies. The authority of her Kings was sufficiently abridged by the constitution; but by his working genius, and the interest he had in the state upon the reputation of his services, he made them appear still less, and that in the field too, where they were least subject to be controlled. An instance of which we have in his going with *Agésilas* into *Asia*, where all the court and application was made to him; and in every thing that passed of moment, he had either the first hand, or finishing stroke: Insomuch that the King found himself obliged to take notice of it; and that he might no longer appear a cypher, sent him upon other service to the *Hellepont*. Neither was it enough for him to eclipse the power of the Kings, and to impose his own government of *ten men* upon all the *Spartan* conquests; but he was further endeavouring to alter the succession of the *Heraclidae*, in order to obtain the sovereignty for himself. As a confirmation of this, there was found among his papers after his death, *A discourse concerning the government*, which *Lacratidas* generously suppressed, saying, *It would be inhuman to dig Lysander out of his grave*. He was undoubtedly a brave experienced Commander: But his dissimulation, craft and treachery, his ambition, arrogance and ostentation, make up the greatest part of his character; and therefore it may seem pretty extraordinary, that he should support himself

himself so long under so jealous and austere a government as that of *Sparta*. But he had a great deal of artifice and address; and notwithstanding the imperiousness of his temper, he knew how to curb it upon occasion, and to suit it to his circumstances: So that where he found it necessary to make his court, he was, contrary to the manners of his country, very mild and tractable, patient and submissive, and had all the little arts of flattery and insinuation. It was with regard to these supple qualities, as well as to the badness of his morals in general, that the character of his countryman *Callicratidas*, has been set up in opposition to his; and indeed it was quite the reverse of it, except in the military part; and in that he was no way inferior to him: But he was otherwise open, candid and generous, modest, temperate, sincere and just, and was above making use of any trick or subterfuge. *Lyfander* was so jealous of his merit, that when he was ordered to give up the command of the fleet to him, he did what he could to lessen and distress him: He went so far as to withhold from him the pay of the seamen that was remaining in his hands; which, besides the meanness of the action, was betraying the interest of his country, and hazarding the safety of it in a very critical juncture. Upon the whole, notwithstanding his great achievements, he is not to be looked upon as a true patriot. For it seems chiefly owing to him that the
Spartans

Spartans transgressed the just bounds of power he had put into their hands. It was his pride and insolence, his cruel and tyrannical deportment, and that under the pretence of restoring liberty, which gave their neighbours the first impressions of rancour and resentment against them. It was this that made them conceive an ill opinion of their government in general, and laid the seeds of those alliances, which were formed against them, and which at last proved fatal to them. But they were not yet so sensible of the consequences; and therefore paid all due respect to his memory. They went so far as to fine some who were under a contract of marriage to his daughters, but finding that their father died so poor as to leave them no fortune, had deserted them. It is certain he had reserved nothing to himself out of the spoils of the *Attick* war; which to the *Spartans* was a sufficient argument of his merit. A stronger instance of the sense they had of his loss, was, that they could pitch upon nobody but *Agésilas* to succeed him; who, notwithstanding that he was carrying on the war in *Asia* with good success, was immediately recalled to the defence of his country.

Pausanias
condemned

After the action *Pausanias* came up, but durst not make another attempt. He only demanded the bodies of the slain; and yet could not obtain them upon any other terms than quitting the country. The *Spartans* judged his proceedings very dishonourable, and -condemned him to death;

death ; upon which he made his escape to *Tegea*, and died there.

Towards the end of the year *Agefilaus* ravaged the government of *Pharnabazus*, and at *Dascyllum*, his winter-quarters, took and plundered his tent. But that governor some time after managed an interview with him, wherein he remonstrated, that however he might be obliged to act for his master's honour and safety, he had not shewed himself an enemy to the *Spartans*, but on the contrary had done them many good offices in their war against the *Athenians* ; and that he was now inclined to act no otherwise against them than as he should be necessitated to it, in order to support himself in his command ; by which means he prevailed with *Agefilaus* to withdraw his forces out of the province. Thereupon he descended into the plain of *Thebes* ; and as he was preparing to march further into the country, received news of the war broke out in *Greece*, with orders at the same time for him to return home ; with which he readily complied. And the regard he therein paid to the laws of his country, is particularly taken notice of, that when he was prosecuting the war with great increase of honour and advantage, and had set his heart upon the entire conquest of the *Persian* empire, he had so much command of himself as to stop in his full career, and abandon all, out of a deference to the *Ephori*, who had recalled him. However, he left

Agefilaus
recalled
from Asia.
Olymp.
96. 3.

left four thousand men in *Asia*, to maintain the footing he had got there, till such time as the affairs of *Greece* would permit him to return, and pursue his conquests.

But the *Spartans* could not wait his arrival; they found the war thicken on their hands, and were ready to be attacked on all sides. *Timolaus*, a *Corinthian*, proposed the advancing immediately into their territories, in order to crush them singly, before they could be joined by their auxiliaries. *They set out*, said he, *by themselves only; but in their march they gather forces as they go, until they grow too numerous to be withstood: Like rivers, which are small at their source, and easily to be forded; but as they continue their course, the accession of other waters makes the stream too rapid.* This advice was judged reasonable, and a resolution was taken to pursue it. But there being too much time spent in debating the command, and order of the battle, gave the *Spartans* an opportunity of being joined by the *Eleans*, *Sicyonians*, *Epidaurians*, *Trezenians*, and others, to the number of about fourteen thousand men, and thirteen hundred horse, under the command of *Aristodemus*, who was also appointed tutor to *Agefipolis*, the other *Spartan* King, during his minority. On the other side were the *Athenians*, *Argives*, *Bæotians*, *Corinthians* and *Eubæans*, who made up about two and twenty thousand men, and two thousand horse. Both sides encamped near *Sicyon*, and
at

at so small a distance from each other, that it soon came to a regular battle, wherein the *Spartan* allies were almost entirely routed; but they themselves maintained their ground, and bore so hard upon the *Athenians*, who were in the left wing, opposite to their right, that they recovered the day, and gained the victory by their own single valour, and with the loss of not above eight of their own men, which bore no proportion to that of their enemies, or allies.

The Spartans gain a victory near Sicyon.

The news of this victory reaching *Agésilas* at *Amphipolis*, he sent back *Dercyllidas* with it into *Asia*, to confirm the associated cities there, and pursued his march with all possible diligence, but not without some opposition, particularly from the *Thracians* in *Thrace*, who having formerly sold the passage through their country to *Xerxes*, demanded of him an hundred talents, and as many women. He asked them, by way of derision, *why they did not come to receive their demands?* And proceeding on his journey, made great slaughter of them. Then demanding a passage through *Macedonia*, the King sent him word, *He would consider of it. So let him, said Agésilas; and I will go on in the mean time.* The *Macedonians* did not much relish this *Laconick* answer; but they were not as yet in a condition to resent it, and therefore gave him no disturbance. Having afterwards defeated a body of *Thessalian* horse, which attacked his rear, he arrived in *Boeotia*,
where

where he received intelligence of a great engagement at sea.

Conon's
victory at
Cnidus.

Conon had prevailed with *Artaxerxes* to fit out a fleet, and to give the command of it to him jointly with *Pharnabazus*. They lay in the *Chersonese*, with about ninety sail; where they had notice that the *Spartan* fleet, consisting of an hundred and twenty ships of their own and their allies, lay about *Cnidus*; from whence *Pisander*, who commanded it, weighed anchor, and bore down directly upon the *Persians*. In the first attack, he had the better of it; but one part of the *Persian* gallies came up so seasonably to the relief of the other, that they turned the fortune of the day; insomuch that the *Spartan* confederates began to secure their retreat. The Admiral, though he was so ill supported, charged with his ship in the front of the enemy, where he did a good deal of execution, but at length was overpowered, and killed. After which the *Spartans* retiring towards the continent, *Conon* pursued them, and took fifty of their ships, the rest having recovered their port at *Cnidus*.

Agefilas having privately received this account, thought fit to flifle or disguise it for the present, and used his utmost endeavours to bring the enemy to a speedy battle, before his army could be more particularly informed, and whilst they were flushed with their last victory. Accordingly he joined the *Spartan* allies, and met the *Athenians*, with their allies, on the plain of
Coronea.

Coronea. The *Thebans* began the attack with great vigour, but were repulsed by the extraordinary courage of *Agésilæus*, who, notwithstanding that he was dangerously wounded, pushed the enemy, until he gained a complete and signal victory, but not decisive enough to put an end to the hostilities, which were still continued by incursions into each other's territories.

Agésilæus
his victory
at Coronea.

The *Corinthians* complained that the chief feat of the war being among them, they were infested on all sides, being equally distressed by their enemies, and burdened by their allies; for which reason they were inclinable to a peace. This was opposed by the magistrates and other citizens, who had been corrupted with the *Persian* money. And these debates occasioned a great dissension and massacre in their city; which the *Spartans* easily improved to their advantage, making use of one of the discontented parties to attack the other: By which means a body of their troops, under the command of *Praxitas*, got within the walls. He defeated a great number of the *Argives*, who came up to the relief of their friends in the city, and put to the sword the *Bæotians*, who had got possession of the port called *Lechaus*. He broke down a great part of the walls, which were afterwards repaired by the *Athenians*; and whilst he was pursuing his victory, *Agésilæus* ravaged the country of the *Argives*; and his brother *Teleutias*, the Admiral, scoured

Olymp.
96. 4.

A massacre
at Corinth.

scoured the *Gulf of Corinth*, taking their ships, and demolishing their arsenals.

*Iphicrates
sent with
recruits
from
Athens.*

The *Athenians*, to put a stop to these successes, sent a fresh supply to their army, under the command of *Iphicrates*, whose conduct was infinitely above his age, having, at twenty years old, arrived to such a degree of perfection in military affairs, that no *Athenian* captain ever set out with greater expectation.

*His suc-
cesses.*

About the time of his arrival with a reinforcement, deputations were sent from *Boeotia*, and other parts, to sound *Agésilas* in relation to peace; but he rejected their proposals with disdain, until hearing soon after that the forces he left at *Lechæus* had been defeated by *Iphicrates*, he was more inclinable to treat: But then the deputies stood off, and insulted him in their turn, demanding leave of him, by way of derision, to go to *Corinth*. Whereupon he dismissed them; and after he had reinforced the garrison of *Lechæus*, returned to *Sparta*, having by this last action lost all the honour of this expedition. *Iphicrates*, upon his departure, went on successfully, and recovered all the places that had been taken by him and *Praxitas*.

The war was continued by little skirmishes and incursions, which chiefly affected the *Achaëans*, as confederates of *Sparta*. They were very much infested by the *Acar-nanians*, who were supported by the *Athenian* allies: But *Agésilas* entered

tered their country with fire and sword, and put an end to this quarrel.

In this manner the *Spartans* maintained themselves and their allies for some time without any considerable increase or diminution of power. But their affairs at sea were in a more declining condition; and the effects of their defeat at *Cnidus* began more visibly to appear. The cities in *Asia*, over which they claimed a jurisdiction, finding them so disabled in their shipping, and that they had work enough upon their hands at home, readily hearkened to *Pharnabazus*, who encouraged them to revolt from the *Spartans*, and expel their governors; which they consented to, upon condition they might enjoy their own laws. He was assisted in this work by *Conon*, who suggested to him, that the leaving them in the free enjoyment of their liberty, would be the surest means to keep them in his interest. The like attempts were made at *Sestos* and *Abydus*; but *Dercyllidas* lying there, secured those parts.

The Asiatic cities revolt from Sparta.

The next year *Pharnabazus* and *Conon* pursuing their late victory, procured another fleet from the towns upon the *Hellespont*, with which they made a descent upon the maritime parts of *Laconia*, and ravaged the country. After which *Conon* desired leave to sail with the fleet to *Athens*, with an intent to repair the haven of *Piræus*, and rebuild the walls; which he represented as a very important piece of service against *Sparta*. *Pharnabazus* not only complied with

Olymp. 97. 1.

Conon rebuilds the walls of Athens,

his request, but gave him fifty talents to be employed in that work, which was accordingly effected.

Overtures
of peace.
Olymp.
97. 2.

The *Spartans* finding the war brought home to their own doors, and that the *Athenians* reaping the advantage of it, might soon wrest the sovereignty of *Greece* out of their hands, sent *Antalcidas* to treat with the *Persians* about a peace. He applied himself to *Teribazus*, the governor of *Sardis*, and offered to give up the *Grecian* cities in *Asia*, provided the islands, and the other parts of *Greece*, might remain free. An overture of this kind was easily hearkened to: But the *Athenians* and their allies taking the alarm, sent Ambassadors on their part likewise, to join in the negotiations, and to support the interests of their respective principals. But there were so many different pretensions started, that they could not come to any agreement among themselves; and *Teribazus* did not think himself sufficiently authorized by his present instructions to conclude with the *Spartans* separately. However, he was so well affected to them, that, though the treaty was at a stand, he supplied them in the mean time privately with money to maintain a fleet at sea; wherein he had a further view, that they might by that means awe the other states into a compliance with the terms offered by them. The *Spartans* likewise gained another point with *Teribazus* in relation to *Conon*. *Antalcidas* had it in his instructions to render him suspected

suspected, and to inveigh against him as the chief incendiary of the war, and as having promoted it with no other view than to aggrandize the *Athenians* at the expence of the *Persians*. The charge in fact was true, and it was urged so strongly against him, that as he was then at *Sardis*, waiting the event of the negotiations, *Teribazus* thought it proper to seize him, and keep him in custody until he should receive orders from his master how to dispose of him. Some say he sent him to *Artaxerxes*, who put him to death; others, that he escaped out of prison, with the consent or connivance of *Teribazus*; the latter whereof does not seem very probable, because we find no further mention made of him either in *Greece* or *Persia*. So that we may conclude he died about this time, and that he fell a sacrifice to his own ill-timed zeal for the service of his country; which certainly carried him further than was suitable to the circumstances he was under. He had lived as a voluntary exile among the *Persians*, who had given him their protection and assistance; he had been favoured and trusted by them; he had, by interesting them in his quarrel, broke the power of *Sparta* at sea, and repaired the ruins of his own city, and both at their charge and hazard. But not content with this, he was at the same time practising against them, and endeavouring under-hand to withdraw from them several cities, and the whole provinces of *Ionia* and *Æolia*, in order to annex

Conon's
death, and
character.

them to the dominions of *Athens*; and all this under a pretence of rescuing them from the tyranny of *Sparta*, and securing them to the *Persians*. They could not, when they were let into a discovery of these artifices, think he had made a suitable return for what he owed them; nor indeed can this part of his character be otherwise justified than by that false principle, which had generally obtained among the *Grecians*, to give up every thing that interfered with what they called the honour, or advantage of their country. This was carried so far, as, in some cases, to destroy the common distinctions of right and wrong; and the *Spartans* themselves, notwithstanding their severe justice in other respects, were so loose in this particular, that nothing was esteemed base that was beneficial. Another motive for his exerting himself in so extraordinary a manner might be, in order to redeem his own honour, which does not seem to stand quite clear in the affair of *Ægos-potamos*. *Nepos* indeed says, he was absent from his command at the time of that engagement; and assigns that as the cause of the defeat. But the most natural and authentick account is, that he was present in the action, but that being overpowered by *Lyfander*, and seeing no probability of success on his side, made his escape with eight or nine ships, and retired to *Cyprus*. This agrees with what is further said of him, that he was afraid and ashamed to return to *Athens*; which

which it is plain he did not attempt until several years after, when he had done enough to wipe off that stain. The latter part of his life was certainly without reproach, either as to his courage or capacity; of both which he had given sufficient proofs, and had made himself so formidable to the *Spartans*, that they were glad upon any terms to get rid of him; and it was by the most abject submission to the *Persians* that they compassed it. The dread they had conceived of him seems to have been the grounds of that scandalous peace, which they soon afterwards concluded: And as they began from that day forward to decline in their reputation and power, we may look upon *Conon* as having more remotely occasioned their downfall.

Upon the offers of peace made to *Teribazus*, he went up to *Artaxerxes*, to give an account of his proceedings, and to receive fresh instructions. In the mean time, *Struthas* was sent to command in the *Lower Asia*, and to take care of the sea-coasts. He was not so well inclined to the *Spartans* as his predecessor, being more exasperated at what had been done by *Agessilaus*. Whereupon they sent *Thimbron* with a good body of troops to keep him in action; which he did at first with good success; but ranging about with a separate party in quest of booty, was surprized by *Struthas*, and killed. He was succeeded by *Diphridas*, who was a man of better conduct, at least of more caution; and he having

*Thimbron killed
Succeeded
by Diphridas.*

gathered up the remains of the army, maintained his ground in the places which had submitted to *Thimbron*.

*Commoti-
ons at
Rhodes.
Olymp.
97. 3.*

There were at this time two contending parties at *Rhodes*, concerning the form of government there; and they were supported by their respective patrons, those for the *Democracy* by the *Athenians*, and the others for the *Oligarchy* by the *Spartans*. The latter being over-powered, and forced off the island, made their complaints at *Sparta*; and *Ecdicus* was dispatched with eight ships to their relief. But finding himself too weak to do any thing to the purpose, *Teletias* the Admiral was sent with twenty-seven sail, with which he restored the exiles, and the *Oligarchy*. This was a matter of too much consequence to the *Athenians* to be given up. They were sensible how much their sovereignty in the island (which was truly the point in question) depended on the form of government which should prevail in it; and therefore sent out *Thra-sybulus* to put things upon the former footing. Before he durst attempt any thing at *Rhodes*, he went into *Thrace*, where he gained over two *Persian* Princes to the *Athenian* interest; he then took in *Byzantium*, *Cbalcis*, and several other cities upon the *Hellepont*; and from thence he went to chastise the *Lesbians*, who were all of them, except those of *Mitylene*, in the *Spartan* interest. Having succeeded thus far, he sailed towards *Rhodes*. He had in his way levied a
sum

sum of money for contribution upon the inhabitants of *Aspendus*: But they being afterwards ill treated by his soldiers, rose in a great fury, and murdered him in his tent.

Thra-
sy-
bulus
murdered.
His cha-
racter.

Such was the end of this great patriot, to whom *Athens* owed as signal a deliverance as any she had received in the *Persian* wars. We need only consider her condition under the tyranny of *the thirty*; when of those who had escaped the fate of a long war, some had been murdered, others banished, and their estates confiscated; when the city was one continued scene of outrage and violence; and when those few good men who still remained, and expressed a sense of recovering the public liberty, yet chose rather to content themselves with talking of it than really to attempt it: Yet even then did *Thra-sybulus* rise in a manner singly against the united power of the oppressors. It having been already related with what prudence, zeal and intrepidity he conducted that affair, I will here only add an observation which has been made, that the success of this enterprize was chiefly owing to its desperateness. For the contempt with which *the thirty* treated it in the beginning, made them neglect the proper means of providing for their safety. *Thra-sybulus* in the mean time went on with his design, and increased his followers: And when they found him in a condition to make head against them, they thought fit to make him an offer of sharing

in the tyranny with them, upon condition he would desist. But it was not to be supposed, that one who had the courage to project such an enterprize, and who had advanced it so far, would hearken to any other terms than the entirely restoring the freedom of his country. His public-spiritedness, together with his fidelity, constancy and magnanimity, made him at least equal to the greatest men of his time. There were several, indeed, whose achievements happened to make a greater noise in the world: But none of them had a more real foundation of merit. And therefore *Nepos* says of him, *That if virtue were to be considered abstractedly from fortune. he should be inclined to give Thrasylbulus the first place in his catalogue of worthies.*

The *Spartans* at this time sent *Anaxibius* with a small supply of money and shipping, to retrieve their affairs in the *Hellespont*. And thereupon the *Athenians*, to secure the places recovered by *Thrasylbulus*, ordered out *Ipbicrates*, with eight gallies, and twelve hundred men, being chiefly those who served under him in his *Corinthian* expedition. Before any considerable action happened on either side, *Ipbicrates* intercepted *Anaxibius* in his way to *Abydus*, by an ambuscade, and rushing out upon him, *Here*, said the *Spartan* General to his men, *must I die; take care of yourselves.* And accordingly he was killed, with a good number of those about him.

About

About the time of these transactions abroad, *The Æginetans infest the coast of Attica.* The *Athenians* made a descent upon them, and had in some measure blocked them up by sea and land; but they were soon after repulsed by them and the *Spartans*, who assisted them, and who had fomented the quarrel. Thereupon the islanders renewed their insults, until at length they were humbled by a victory obtained against them by *Chabrias*, an *Athenian* of good reputation; and those seas were cleared for the present. *Olymp. 97. 4.*

But *Chabrias* being soon after sent to the assistance of *Evagoras*, King of *Cyprus*, and a friend to *Athens*, the *Spartans* took advantage of his absence, and formed a design of surprising the *Athenian* ships in their harbour. Accordingly *Teleutias* entered the *Piræus* by night, where most of the men being on shore, he took several merchant ships, with three or four gallies, and sunk or disabled as many more as the time would allow; and having put the city under a general consternation, he returned, and preyed upon the coasts, seizing the fishing-vessels, with such other booty as fell in his hands. *But are repulsed by Chabrias.*

In this manner did these states for some time carry on a kind of a pyratrical war, without any regular engagement, and without bringing things to any general issue. But the *Athenians* being so harassed on all sides, the *Spartans* having

*The peace
of Antal-
cidas.*

having more garrisons than they could maintain, and their confederates revolting from them, and the other states being drained and tired out, began by mutual consent to think of a peace with the *Persians*; which *Teribazus*, being now returned from his master, had full power to conclude. The conditions were, *That all the cities in Asia, with the islands of Clazomenæ, should be under the jurisdiction of Persia; That the islands of Lemnus, Imbrus, and Scirus, as having from time immemorial been subject to Athens, should still continue so; and, That all the other cities of Greece should be left entirely free.* Which terms were submitted to by all but the *Thebans*, who refused to give up their jurisdiction over the towns in *Bœotia*: But they were afterwards overawed, and forced into it.

A. M.
3618.
Olymp.
98. 2.

This peace was concluded, according to the most general account, in the second year of the ninety-eighth *Olympiad*, and was called, *The peace of Antalcidas*; if, as *Plutarch* says, that may be called a peace, which was *The reproach and ruin of Greece*. It was not only giving up at once all the footing *Agésilas* had got in *Asia*, but undoing all that had been done there by the *Grecians* in general, ever since they were a nation. It was what the *Persians* themselves could not have asked, or even hoped for, if the *Spartans* had not, to their eternal infamy, made them the first overture; the grounds of which overture was, their dread and jealousy of the *Athenians*,

nians, lest they should recover the power they had wrested from them. The colonies planted in *Asia* had for many ages been considered as a part of *Greece*; and the supporting and protecting them as such, was the chief pretence upon which the last war against *Persia* was founded. Wherefore this proceeding of the *Spartans*, in relation to the peace, was betraying and sacrificing one part of their country, in order to maintain their tyranny over the other. This was plainly their drift; and *Antalcidas* was a very proper instrument for the purpose. When he went up to the *Persian* court to solicit this affair, he took care to conform himself to their softness and effeminacy; he could join in a ball upon occasion, and went so far as to play the buffoon, and in a wanton dance to mimic *Leonidas* and *Callicratidas*, whose names were revered at *Sparta*, as having been the terror and scourge of the *Barbarians*. However, by thus prostituting his character, and sacrificing even the customs and manners, as well as the liberty of his country, he gained so far upon *Artaxerxes*, that he shewed him very uncommon marks of favour and distinction; which was the more remarkable, because he naturally hated the persons of the *Spartans*, and looked upon them as the most impudent of mankind. But notwithstanding that he was so highly honoured and caressed upon this negotiation, he afterwards met with the common fate of that sort of agents. For the *Spartans*
being

His character.

being reduced to an extremity, and sending him again to *Artaxerxes*, to press for supplies, he was treated by the King with great coldness and contempt; and returning without success, he found the same reception at home; insomuch, that fearing the power and severity of the *Ephori*, he starved himself to death.

C H A P. III.

From the peace of *Antalcidas*, to the battle of *Leuctra*.

Containing the space of 17 years.

The insolent behaviour of the Spartans after the peace.

THE treaty, though it was principally between *Greece* and *Persia*, was made to extend likewise to the *Grecians* among themselves; and it was provided by it, *That whatever states should refuse to accede to it, the other contracting powers, together with the Persian King, should compel them to it by force of arms.* The *Spartans* affecting still the sovereignty of *Greece*, dismembered as it was, took upon them the execution of this part of the treaty, and, under the notion of guarantees, explained it as they thought fit, and according as they were swayed by their passion, or their interest.

They began with the *Mantineans*, and, the year after the peace, sent their King *Agessipolis* to throw down their walls; which he effected by

by turning against them the course of the river that ran through the city, by which means the foundation being sapped and weakened, the inhabitants despaired of making any defence, and capitulated. This was the same stratagem that *Cimon* formerly made use of, when he took *Eion*, situate upon the river *Strymon*. They were obliged, by the terms of their surrender, to canton themselves into villages. This proceeding of the *Spartans*, was in revenge for their having taken part against them in the late wars; and with a view to reduce them so, as that they should not be in a condition to unite against them. Some other little states they treated less rigorously, but yet with such an air of superiority and control, as plainly shewed they expected to be obeyed. In order to keep them under their dependence, and at the same time to make them a little sanguine in their interest, they would, in some cases, redress their grievances, restore their exiles, compose their differences, and do such other popular acts of justice as to make them think they were executing the treaty to their advantage, and that they were the authors of their liberty. And among the greater states, they had obliged the *Corinthians* to withdraw their garrison from *Argos*; which, with their freeing the *Bæotian* cities, and some other instances of that kind, had raised their reputation for the present, and taken off a good deal of the odium,

odium, which they had contracted by the treaty in other respects.

They quarrel with the Olynthians.

The people who gave them most disturbance at this time were the *Olynthians*, who were started up on a sudden, and grown so powerful, that they not only held the neighbouring places in subjection, but had over-run a great part of *Macedonia*, and taken many towns, with *Pella*, the metropolis; wherein they copied after the example of *Sparta*, and under a pretence of delivering those places from the tyranny of *Amyntas* their King, had in a manner drove him out of his dominions. The inhabitants of *Acanthus* and *Apollonia* finding themselves under a necessity of submitting to them, if they were not supported against them, represented their case to the *Spartans*, who, looking upon the *Olynthians* with a jealous eye, made no difficulty of granting their protection to those cities, and immediately dispatched two thousand men, under the command of *Eudamidas*, who recovered *Potidaea*, and fortified several parts of *Thrace*. In the mean time his brother *Phæbidas* was sent to join him with a greater body of troops.

Phæbidas seizes the Cadmea at Thebes Olymp.
99. 3.

But an incident happened in his march, which proved to be of more consequence to the affairs of *Greece* than was at first apprehended. When he arrived at *Thebes*, he found the city divided into factions; one part being headed by *Ismenias*, and the other by *Leontiades*. They were

TWO

two of the Polemarchs, or Governors of the city; and the latter being in the *Spartan* interest, and finding that he could not otherwise get the better of his colleague, betrayed the citadel, called *Cadmea*, to *Phæbidas*; then seized *Ismenias*, and forced his party, to the number of four hundred, to fly to *Athens* for refuge. This made a great noise there, and in the other parts of *Greece*; and even at *Sparta*, they were so ashamed of it, that they pretended to resent it; for they were sensible the *Thebans* had done nothing in violation of the treaty, since they had submitted to it; that their domestick dissensions did not concern the public; and that *Phæbidas* had no authority to intermeddle in them. But this action was excused by *Agefilaus*, who was supposed to be at the bottom of the design. He considered it in no other light than as it was of advantage to the common-wealth; and declared his opinion, *That if it answered in that respect, it mattered not by what authority it was done.* He added further, in behalf of *Phæbidas*, *That in an enterprize of that nature, orders were not to be expected.* This way of reasoning so far prevailed with the *Spartan* government, that they avowed and justified the action, though at the same time they punished the actor; for they imposed a fine of ten thousand *Drachmas* on *Phæbidas*, and deprived him of his command: Which *Plutarch* takes notice of as a ridiculous inconsistency. And *Polybius*, in condemning the *Ætolians*,

tolians, for a procedure of the like kind, compares them to the *Spartans*, who, when *Phæbidas* had, contrary to all faith and treaties, seized the *Cadmea*, punished the author of the treachery, but did not withdraw their garrison; as if, says he, that punishment could wipe out the injustice of the action, and give full satisfaction to the *Thebans*. He makes a further remark applicable to the present occasion, that, upon the peace they proclaimed publickly, they would restore all the cities to their liberties, and yet did not recal any of the Governors, whom they had placed in them. He then adds, *That it is the height of madness, joined to the most consummate wickedness, to pretend, that a man needs only shut his own eyes, to hinder others from seeing him.*

Ismenias
condemned

However, the *Spartans* kept possession of the citadel, and confirmed *Leontiades* in the government, to whom *Archias* was joined in commission, as having been an accomplice with him in the treachery. In the next place they procured articles to be exhibited against *Ismenias*, for having taken money of the *Persians*, and held intelligence with them, and for having been a principal promoter of these intestine broils. Upon which he underwent a formal trial before three commissioners deputed from *Sparta*, and one from each of the other great cities of *Greece*, and was condemned to death.

The

The *Spartans* having in this manner secured *Thebes*, prosecuted the war against the *Olynthians*. The command was given to *Teleutias*, who, with the assistance of *Anupetas*, defeated them under the walls of the city; after which he ravaged the country, and went into winter quarters. The next campaign proved more successful to the *Olynthians*, who having defeated a party of the *Spartan* army, *Teleutias* marched with the main body to their relief, and charging furiously within bow-shot of the city, his men were very much galled, and himself killed. He is charged with more passion and rashness in this enterprise, than was suitable to his post. But however he might expose himself upon this occasion, he had in the main behaved well in the service of his country, and acquitted himself with honour in both his capacities, of General and Admiral. He was also rich and liberal, and had endeared himself so much to those who served under him, that upon his return home in a former expedition, they flocked about him to crown him with wreaths and garlands. And *Xenophon* says, *His manner of engaging the affections of the soldiers deserved more to be taken notice of, than the wealth he possessed, or the dangers he underwent.* But whatever his personal merit was, he owed a great deal to *Agessilaus*, who was his half brother, and was chiefly instrumental in the raising and supporting him.

The war carried on against the Olynthians.

Teleutias killed.

His character.

Succeeded
by Agefi-
polis,

his death.

Polybi-
ades takes
Olynthus.
Olymp.
100. 1.

The Spar-
tans quar-
rel with
the Phlia-
sians.

The *Spartans*, as soon as they heard of his death, sent their King *Agefipolis* in his room. He having collected the forces, which were much shattered and dispersed by the last action, took *Torone*, a town in alliance with the *Olynthians*, and harassed the country; but the fatigue and extreme heats of the season threw him into a fever, of which he died. *Agefilaus*, who had lived in good friendship with him, lamented his loss. There had indeed, at his first setting out, been a secret emulation between them; which *Agefilaus* perceiving, easily got the better of, and moulded him to his purpose. For being naturally modest and tractable, but indolent withal, and averse to business, his colleague took care to cultivate in him this mild disposition; and in order to take off the edge of his ambition, entertained him with dogs and horses, and love affairs, and went so far as to recommend boys to him, and assist him in his amours.

He was succeeded in the command by *Polybiades*, who besieged *Olynthus*, and reduced it by famine. The conditions imposed on the inhabitants, were, *That they should have the same friends and foes with the Spartans; and that they should join with them, as confederates, in all their wars.*

This war continued near three years; and it was no sooner ended, but the *Spartans* were called upon to chastise the *Phliasians* for having ill treated the exiles, who had lately been restored by
their

their interposition. They made their complaints at *Sparta*, and were fined for so doing: But upon their repeated instances for protection, the *Ephori* declared war; and *Agefilaus* was sent to do them justice. He required of them to deliver up their castle; which they refusing to do, he laid siege to the city. They made a very obstinate defence, even to the imprisoning such as did but mention any thing of a surrender; until at length their provisions failing them, they were reduced to the last extremity, and sent to *Sparta*, to obtain the best terms they could. In the mean time, *Agefilaus* left a garrison in the town, and returned home, after he had spent above a year and an half in this expedition.

*Who are
reduced by
Agefilaus.*

The *Spartans* had by this time, under colour of putting things upon that equal footing, which was required by the treaty, gained such an increase of power and authority to themselves, that there was no state in a condition to make head against them. But in the midst of this security, they were alarmed from a quarter where they least expected it. The *Thebans* had for four years, since the seizing of the citadel, submitted to the *Spartan* yoke; but they now took occasion, by a very desperate attempt, to throw it off. For which purpose, there was a secret correspondence carried on between the most considerable of the exiles at *Athens*, and those who were well affected to them in *Thebes*; and measures were concerted between them by *Philly-*

*The The-
bans reco-
ver the
Cadmæa.
Olymp.
100. 2.*

das, secretary to the *Theban* governors ; by whose contrivance a competent number of the exiles were to get into the city ; and *Charon*, a man of the first rank there, offered his house for their reception. The day being fixed, they set out from *Athens* ; and twelve of the most active and resolute among them were detached to enter the city, the rest remaining at a proper distance to wait the event. The first who offered himself was *Pelopidas*, who was young and daring, and had been very zealous in encouraging the design ; and by the share he had in it, gave a sufficient earnest of what might be further expected from him in the service of his country. The next man of consequence, was *Mellon*, who by some is said to have first projected the affair with *Phyllidas*. These two, with their ten associates, dressed themselves like peasants, and beat about the fields with dogs and hunting-poles, as in search of game. By which means having passed unsuspected, and conveyed themselves into the city, they met at *Charon's* house, as the general rendezvous, where they were soon after joined by thirty-six more of their confederates. It was concerted, that *Phyllidas* should on that day give a great entertainment to *Archias* and *Philip*, the two governors, who were appointed by the *Spartans* ; and, to make it the more complete, he had engaged to provide some of the finest women in the town to give them a meeting. Matters being thus prepared, the
associ-

associates divided themselves into two bands; one of which, led by *Charon* and *Mellon*, were to attack *Archias*, and his company: And having put on womens cloathes over their armour, with pine and poplar over their heads, to shade their faces, they took their opportunity, when the guests were well heated with wine, to enter the room, and immediately stabbed *Archias* and *Philip*, with such others of the company as were pointed out to them by *Pbyllidas*. A little before this execution, *Archias* received an exprefs from *Athens*, with all the particulars of the conspiracy; and the courier conjured him in the name of the person who wrote the letters, that he should read them forthwith; for that they contained matter of great importance. But he laid them by unopened, and, with a smile, said, *Business to-morrow*; which words upon that occasion grew into a proverb.

The other band, headed by *Pelopidas* and *Damocles*, went to attack *Leontiades*, who was at home, and in bed. They rushed into his house by surprise; but he soon taking the alarm, leaped up, and, with his sword in his hand, received them at his chamber door, and stabbed *Cephisodorus*, who was the first man that attempted to enter. *Pelopidas* was the next who encountered him, and after a long and difficult dispute, killed him. From thence they went in pursuit of *Hypates*, his friend and neigh-

bour, and dispatched him likewise. After which they joined the other band, and sent to hasten the exiles they had left in *Attica*.

The whole city was by this time filled with terror and confusion; the houses full of lights, and the inhabitants running to and fro in the streets in a wild distracted manner, and waiting impatiently for day-light, that they might distinguish their friends from their foes, and determine what course to take. Early in the morning the exiles came in armed; and *Pelopidas* appeared with his party in a general assembly of the people, encompassed by the priests carrying garlands in their hands, proclaiming liberty to the *Thebans* in general, and exhorting them to fight for their gods and their country. For though they had made such a prosperous beginning, the most difficult part still remained, whilst the citadel was in the possession of the *Spartans*, with a garrison of fifteen hundred men, besides a great number of citizens and others, who had fled to them for protection, and declared themselves on their side.

Plutarch, who is very particular in the first part of this transaction, which has been related chiefly from him, passes over the taking the citadel too slightly. He only says, that *Pelopidas*, with *Charon* and *Mellon*, blocked it up, attacked it, and got possession of it before any succours could arrive from *Sparta*. But it is not probable that should

be

be the work of a day, or that it should have been effected with so small a force: And therefore this part is to be supplied from *Diodorus Siculus*, who says, that the *Athenians* early the next morning after, sent five thousand foot, and two thousand horse, to *Pelopidas's* assistance, and that several other bodies of troops came in from all the cities of *Bæotia*, to the number of seven thousand; that the castle being besieged by this army, held out for several days, but surrendered at last for want of provisions. Others say, they capitulated more out of fear than necessity, and that the commander, at his return to *Sparta*, was put to death for it. However, the citadel, upon which the whole depended, was recovered; and as the gaining that restored the *Thebans* to their former liberty, so it was the foundation of their future greatness.

This action bore so near a resemblance to that of *Thrasylulus*, whether we consider the courage of the actors, the hazards and difficulties of the undertaking, the manner in which it was conducted, or the success and consequences with which it was attended, that it was called *Its Sister*. And *Pelopidas* proposed that enterprize as a pattern to the exiles, when he exhorted them not to content themselves with living in a lazy dependence on the *Athenians*, and to fawn for fear upon every smooth-tongued orator, but to exert themselves like *Thrasylulus*; and that, as he had advanced from *Thebes*, to

break the power of the tyrants at *Athens*, they should, in like manner, march from *Athens* to set *Thebes* at liberty.

Whereup-
on the
Spartans
declare
war a-
gainst
them.

The The-
bans
create a
quarrel be-
tween A-
thens and
Sparta.

Olymp.
100. 4.

The *Spartans* were so enraged, and so far from giving up their usurped dominion, that they sent their King *Cleombrotus* in the depth of winter to make war upon the *Thebans*. But after he had defeated some small straggling parties, he left the prosecution of his designs to *Sphodrias*, who commanded in *Thespia*. The *Athenians* were afraid, by entering into this quarrel, to draw the *Spartans* upon them; and therefore withdrew their protection and assistance from the *Thebans*. The *Thebans*, on the other hand, not thinking themselves able singly to cope with the *Spartans*, contrived to create a misunderstanding between these two states, in order to bring over the *Athenians* to them. Accordingly, they practised under-hand with *Sphodrias*, and put him upon a project of attacking the *Piræus*, as a thing that would redound to his honour, and be very advantageous and agreeable to his principles. He was brave and ambitious, but rash withal, and indiscreet; and he was worked up to it, partly by flattering his vanity, and partly by presents. It was concerted, that he should march in the dead of night, so as to be able to make his attack upon the place by break of day: But he failed in his time; and when he was got as far as *Eleusis*, the design took air, and miscarried. However,

ever, he had done enough to alarm and incense the *Athenians*, who thereupon imprisoned the *Spartan* ambassadors. But the state disavowed this proceeding of their officer, and called him to an account for it. *Agésilas* urged in his behalf, *That he was an honest man, and that the common-wealth stood in need of such soldiers*, and got him acquitted; which he is said to have done at the intercession of his son *Archidamus*, who had a love-affair with *Cleonimus*, the son of *Spbodrias*. This attempt, made in a profound peace, and without the least provocation given, was of the same kind with that of the *Cadméa*, though it had not the same success; and it was matter of great surprise, that the author of it should go unpunished. It is therefore to be looked upon as one of those glaring instances of the partiality of the *Spartan* government, in cases wherein their interest was concerned: And the *Athenians* resented it accordingly. For they immediately declared themselves on the side of the *Thebans*, and joining heartily with them, drew to their confederacy several of the cities which were grown weary of the *Spartan* tyranny.

The *Spartans*, in order to retain those places which had not yet revolted, abated of their usual severity to them; and sent *Agésilas* and *Cleombrotus* by turns, with a good body of troops, into *Beotia*, where they made several campaigns, but did little more than shew themselves,

Olymp.
101.1.

The Spar-
tans in-
vade Bœ-
otia.

selves, and harass the country, with the loss of many of their men; among whom was *Phæbidas*, who, since the affair of the *Cadmæa*, commanded in the garrison at *Thespie*, and afterwards in the army, upon the absence of the *Spartan Kings*.

*Are opposed by
Chabrias.
Olymp.
101. 2.*

The man who signalized himself most against the *Spartans*, was *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, who had served well at sea and land, and was now pitched upon as the best officer of his time to oppose to *Agefilaus*, who had entered *Bœotia* with eighteen thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse; and whose name struck such a terror into the *Thebans*, that they proposed nothing more than standing upon their defence; and to that end, possessed themselves of an hill near the city. *Agefilaus* detached a party of light-armed men to provoke them to come down, and give him battle; which they declining, he drew out his whole forces, in order to attack them. *Chabrias*, who commanded the mercenaries on the part of the *Thebans*, ordered his men to present themselves, and keep their ranks in close order, with their shields laid down at their feet, and their spears advanced, and with one leg put forward, and the knee upon the half-bent. *Agefilaus* finding them prepared in this manner to receive him, and that they stood, as it were, in defiance of him, thought fit to withdraw his army, and contented himself with ravaging the country. This was looked upon as an extraordinary

His success.

dinary stratagem; and *Chabrias* valued himself so much upon it, that he procured his statue to be erected in that posture.

The *Spartans* having done nothing considerable enough to answer the losses and expence of these expeditions, resolved to try their fortune at sea; and fitted out a fleet of seventy sail, under the command of *Pollis*, who endeavoured to intercept a great quantity of corn designed for *Athens*, and had in a manner blocked up the city. But *Chabrias* having notice of this design, came up with the *Spartan* fleet, and having defeated it, convoyed the transport ships safe into the *Piræus*.

Chabrias acting offensively in his turn, sailed with the fleet to *Naxos*, and laid siege to it; and *Pollis* coming up to the relief of the island, a very sharp engagement ensued, wherein the *Athenians* dispersed the whole *Spartan* fleet, having destroyed twenty-four of their gallies, and taken eight, with the loss of eighteen of their own. *Chabrias* returned with his spoils to *Athens*, and was highly honoured, this being the first victory at sea, that had been obtained by the *Athenians* singly, without the assistance of the *Persians*, since the *Peloponnesian* war: And this had put them upon asserting their former dominion at sea.

The victory at Naxos.

For this purpose they ordered their fleet to sail round *Peloponnesus*, under the conduct of *Timotheus*, who was the son of *Conon*, and inherited his

Olymp.
101. 3.

*The suc-
cesses of
Timo-
theus,*

his father's virtues. He drew several towns and places on the coast, some by force, and others by management and mild treatment, into the alliance with *Athens*: Whereupon the *Spartans* sent out *Nicholocus*, with the command of their fleet, to put a stop to these encroachments. He was hot and daring, and immediately fell in with the *Athenians*, before his whole number of ships could join him. But he was defeated, and *Timotheus* erected a trophy. This action happened near *Leucas*.

*and of
Pelopi-
das.*

The *Thebans* taking advantage of these diversions at sea, recovered all the cities of *Bæotia*, and invaded *Phocis*. The *Spartans* grew every day less terrible to them; so that they began now to act offensively against them, and had frequent encounters with them. And though they were not regular and decisive battles, they were such as served to raise their courage, and gain them experience, and were introductory to those greater actions which happened afterwards. The success of these little engagements was generally on their side, and was chiefly owing to *Pelopidas*, who signalized himself in most of them. In one of them, at a place called *Tanagra*, he slew the *Spartan* commander with his own hand. But that which happened about the same time at *Tegyra* was more remarkable.

*The bat-
tle at Te-
gyra.*

He had formed a design of surprising *Orcho-
menus*, which was garrisoned by the *Spartans*, and
marched against it with three hundred foot, and
some

some horse: But receiving intelligence that a great body of *Spartans* were upon their march to reinforce the garrison, he thought it adviseable to retire. In his retreat he met this reinforcement near *Tegyra*, and being opposed by them, he ordered his horse, who were in the rear, to advance and engage them, relying on his foot for the main stress of the battle. The attack was very furious on both sides: But *Gorgoleon* and *Theopompus*, who commanded the *Spartans*, soon fell; and all who were near them were either killed or put to flight; which struck such a terror into the rest of their troops, that they opened a passage for the *Thebans* to pursue their march. But *Pelopidas* would not quit the field, until he had made a further slaughter among them, and thoroughly routed and dispersed them. He acquired more reputation by this retreat than he could have got by succeeding in his original design against *Orchomenus*: And it was a more signal disgrace to the *Spartans* than they had hitherto met with; for they had at least three times as many men in the field. And it was never known before, that in all their wars, whether against *Grecians* or *Barbarians*, they had been beat by fewer troops than their own, or even by an equal number. It must, indeed, be allowed, that these three hundred foot were the flower of the *Theban* army; and they were distinguished by the name of *The Sacred Battalion*. They were as remarkable for their fidelity and affection

The Sacred Battalion.

affection to one another, as they were for their courage, and in that respect were likewise called *The Band of Lovers*. There are several fabulous accounts concerning them: But all that can be reasonably collected from them, is, that they were a brave determined set of young men, who had vowed perpetual friendship, and sworn to stand by one another to the last drop of their blood. They were said to have been first raised by *Gorgidas*, who was one of the governors of *Boeotia*, in conjunction with *Pelopidas*, and had a considerable share in the transactions of that time. He used them chiefly as a guard to the citadel, but employed them occasionally in other services of the war; and upon an engagement, he chose to divide and mix them in the ranks with the other troops, in order to animate them by their example. But *Pelopidas* found a better effect in keeping them in one entire body; and after the proofs they had given him of their behaviour in this action, he constantly charged at the head of them in the same manner, without breaking and dispersing them. They are said to have remained invincible until the battle of *Chæronea*, which happened some years after, when they were every man of them cut down by the *Macedonian Phalanx*: And the next day *Philip* taking a view of the field of battle, looked on them with surprise, as they lay all together among the slain, and extolling their virtue, wept over them.

It

It was this battle of *Tegyra*, says *Plutarch*, which first convinced the *Grecians*, that the breed of martial spirits is not confined to the banks of the *Eurotus*; but that true courage and bravery are the growth of every country, where the inhabitants are brought up with a sense of honour and justice, and are more afraid of the least disgrace than of the greatest danger.

These successes of the *Thebans* made the *Albanians* begin to think they gained ground a little too fast; and whatever cause of resentment they had against *Sparta*, they did not care to carry it so far, as to raise the power of one state upon the destruction of the other: Which consideration inclined them towards an accommodation. It happened at the same time, that *Artaxerxes* wanting a supply of *Grecian* troops to assist him in his *Egyptian* war, and which could not easily be spared, without putting an end to these intestine broils, sent his Ambassadors into *Greece* to renew the peace of *Antalcidas*, which in the present conjuncture met with very little difficulty, except from the *Thebans*, who would not give up their jurisdiction over the cities of *Bæotia*. The general tenor of the treaty was as before, *That all the cities for the future should be governed by their own laws*; with an additional provision, *That all the garrisons should be withdrawn*; which was accordingly executed by commissioners appointed for that purpose.

*The peace
of Antal-
cidas re-
newed.
Olymp.
102. 1.*

During

*A body of
Grecians
employed
by the Per-
sians a-
gainst
Ægypt.*

*Iphicrates
commands
them.*

During the short respite that was by this means given to the *Grecians*, *Artaxerxes* engaged twenty thousand of them in his service against *Ægypt*. *Pharnabazus*, who had the charge of the war, and had been two years in making preparations for it, had got together an army of two hundred thousand men, besides this body of *Grecians*, with a proportionable number of shipping, to act in concert with the land forces. He sent to *Athens* to demand that *Chabrias*, who then served as a volunteer with the *Ægyptians*, might be recalled home, and that *Iphicrates* might be sent to command the *Grecians*; both which points were readily complied with. The general rendezvous was at *Ace*, afterwards called *Ptolemais*; where it was resolved to attack *Pelusium*, one of the *seven mouths* of the *Nile*, as the most convenient passage into the country: But the *Ægyptians* had so long notice given them to provide for their defence, that they had made that place inaccessible both by sea and land. Whereupon *Pharnabazus* ordered the fleet to *Mendesium*, another *mouth* of the *Nile*, and made a descent with three thousand men, who, after a vigorous resistance, took the place. *Iphicrates* took the fort likewise, with those who retired into it; and being flushed with this success, proposed to go, without loss of time, to attack *Memphis*, the capital city of *Ægypt*. But *Pharnabazus* chose rather to stay until his whole forces could come up, in order to make sure work of it.

it. The other urged the necessity of marching immediately against it; and, in order to cut off all further pretences, offered to do it with only his own troops; which being likewise refused, it was plainly seen that *Pharnabazus* was jealous of his having too great a share in the honour of the expedition. Whilst this matter was in debate between them, the *Aegyptians* put a strong garrison into *Memphis*; and drawing down the rest of their forces against the *Persians*, maintained their ground, and harassed them, until at length the inundation of the *Nile* obliged them to quit the country. By these means they lost the prospect of taking *Memphis*, the consequence whereof must have been the reduction of the whole kingdom. Such was the fate of most of the *Persian* expeditions, which were generally ill-concerted, and worse conducted, and were always attended with delays, which were chiefly occasioned by their Generals hands being tied up, so that, upon any sudden emergency, they often waited for instructions from their court, until the occasion was over. And this was alleged by *Pharnabazus* in his excuse to *Iphicrates*, who, expostulating with him upon the operations of the war, asked him, *How it came to pass, that he who was so quick in proposing his measures, was so slow in the execution? Because*, said he, *I am master of my words; but the King is master of my actions.* But this was not so much the case of the present miscarriage, which was chiefly

Pharnabazus is jealous of him.

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owing to the misunderstanding between the two Generals. However, *Pharnabazus*, upon his return into *Asia*, threw the whole blame of it upon *Iphicrates*, who did not think it proper there to justify himself. He took warning from what had lately happened to *Conon* under the like circumstances; and therefore withdrew himself privately to *Athens*. *Pharnabazus* sent his complaint after him; and the *Athenians* promised to punish him, according as they should find he had deserved it. But they found reason to be very well satisfied with his behaviour, and were so far from censuring it, that soon after, as a mark of their approbation, they appointed him Admiral.

In the mean time the several cities of *Greece*, especially those in *Peloponnesus*, were no sooner put into a condition of enjoying that liberty, which was now more fully restored to them, but they fell into tumults and seditions among themselves, with such resentment of former injuries upon those who had acted under the *Spartan* administration, that they banished their persons, and confiscated their estates, and created such further disorders, that the two states of *Athens* and *Sparta* found themselves obliged to interpose in behalf of those who were best affected towards them, and whose quarrels they had formerly espoused: And this occasioned another rupture the year after the peace was concluded; though it was not so general a one as before, nor of so long continuance.

*The peace
broke
again in
Greece.*

The

The first contests were concerning *Zacynthus* and *Corcyra*, which were occasioned chiefly by the *Spartan* faction. In the former of these places the people had expelled their magistrates; who, flying to *Timotheus* for protection, he received them on board his fleet, and transported them back to the island; where, by his further assistance, they got possession of a strong castle, and maintained themselves against the inhabitants. The like divisions subsisting in *Corcyra*, the *Spartans* sent out *Mnasippus* with a fleet, under colour of assisting their friends there. But they knew of what importance that island was to the recovery of their dominion at sea; and their true design was to secure it to themselves. The fraud being detected, the inhabitants in general united against them as their common enemy, and put themselves under the protection of *Athens*. But before they could receive any relief from thence, the *Spartans* had landed upon them, and besieged them. And when they found themselves straitened for want of provisions, they made a desperate sally, wherein they killed *Mnasippus*, with a good number of his men. At length *Ipbicrates* and *Timotheus* coming up with the *Athenian* fleet, took nine of the *Spartan* gallies, and put an end to these commotions.

*Commo-
tions at
Zacyn-
thus and
Corcyra.*

About the same time the inhabitants of *Plataea* applying to their old friends the *Athenians* for their protection and alliance, the *Thebans* took offence at it, and demolished the town; and

*The The-
bans de-
molish Pla-
tæa and
Thespiæ.*

soon after did the same by *Thespiæ*. The *Athenians* were so highly incensed at the treatment of those two cities, which had deserved so well of the common cause in the *Persian* war, that they would act no longer in conjunction with them; and upon their breaking with them, the affairs of *Greece* took a new and unexpected turn.

*Athens
and Spar-
ta incline
to peace.*

Athens and *Sparta* began now to think in earnest of enjoying some repose themselves, and of giving it to the lesser states, whose quarrels had been promoted chiefly by them, and made subservient to their views of obtaining the sovereignty of *Greece*. This was undoubtedly the true grounds of their enmity, though several other pretended causes were assigned; of which the most plausible was, the settling the other cities and republicks in a state of freedom and independency. This was now in some measure effected; and the *Spartans* having been forced to give up a great part of the power they had unjustly obtained, the *Athenians* contented themselves with this mark of their submission, especially since they had recovered a great part of what they had lost at sea; which had brought things to a pretty equal balance. The truth is, they had been at almost all the charge and hazard of the war, exclusive of their allies; so that notwithstanding they had been successful in the main, they had been sufficiently drained and harassed, and were therefore glad of so favourable a conjuncture to renew the former treaty. There being

being at the same time nothing to apprehend on the side of *Asia*, where *Artaxerxes* was deeply engaged in his *Ægyptian* war, there was a general disposition for peace, and the negotiations were carried on successfully by the *Athenians*; but it was rejected by the *Thebans*, and in such a manner, as plainly shewed they were now setting up for themselves, and would no longer be considered as a subordinate state.

The Thebans
averse to
it.

They were naturally an hardy and robust people, but had the character of being heavy and stupid, even to a proverb: And yet such Generals as *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas*, and such writers as *Pindar* and *Plutarch*, one would think, should have vindicated them from that reproach. However, it is certain, they had not hitherto exerted themselves in any degree suitable to the fame of their heroes and founders, who by their exploits, partly fabulous, and partly historical, had given a promise of what might be expected from their descendants, especially in a city of so great antiquity and renown, as to have maintained a siege, even before that of *Troy*. But they were far from answering these expectations. The *Thebans* were divided in interest from the *Bæotians* during the *Persian* wars; which is assigned as one reason why they were so long kept under: They basely deserted the common cause of *Greece* at that time, to join with the *Barbarians*: And when, contrary to all human probability, that numerous army was

defeated, they apprehended the power and resentment of the *Athenians*, who, as being their neighbours, might, under a pretence of punishing their treachery, possess themselves of their country. This necessity threw them under the protection of the *Spartans*, who chose rather to forgive the friends of *Persia*, than sacrifice the enemies of *Athens*; and accordingly entered into a league with them. The *Thebans* were not ungrateful; they did them very great service in the *Peloponnesian* war, and continued, during the whole course of it, their good and faithful allies. Upon what occasion they afterwards broke with them, and were thereupon obliged to have recourse to the *Athenians*, has already been related. It was a constant maxim with them, as they were deserted by one of those two states, to fall in with the other; and which side soever they inclined to, they were generally of weight enough to turn the balance: However, they had hitherto made to further use of that weight than to secure themselves. But they had been so constantly engaged of late years on one side or the other, according to the exigencies of their affairs, that it had brought them into discipline, and fired their ambition; and the *Spartans* had principally contributed to it, by their late frequent expeditions against them. It was an established point of policy in the *Spartan* government, to avoid engaging too often with the same enemy, for fear of instructing them in
the

the art of war: And *Lycurgus* had, for the same reason, expressly forbid it by his laws. But the resentment of *Agefilaus* against the *Thebans* carried him on beyond any consideration of that kind; insomuch that finding his colleague *Cleombrotus* averie to the *Theban* war, he led the army himself, notwithstanding that he had before claimed the privilege of his age to excuse his attendance: And an action happening, wherein he was wounded, *Antalcidas* reproached him, *That he was well requited by the Thebans, for having taught them to fight.* In short, they began now to look about them, and enlarge their views; and finding themselves too much cramped up within their ancient limits, they laid hold of the present conjuncture, to extend their dominion, beginning, as the other states had done, by little encroachments on their neighbours.

The spirit which now appeared among them, had been raised by *Pelopidas*, their late deliverer from the *Spartan* yoke, and was seconded and supported by *Epaminondas*, who, though he had all the qualities necessary for the service of the public, yet chose to lead a private life in a constant course of virtue, and the study of philosophy. He had seldom appeared in public, but in order to get himself excused from those employments, which were so eagerly courted by others. But his extraordinary merit no longer suffering him to enjoy his retirement, he was forced out of it, and placed at the head of the *Theban* army.

They are encouraged by Pelopidas and Epaminondas.

He had before this contracted an intimacy with *Pelopidas*, which was daily improved by the correspondence of their tempers and principles, and the ardent zeal which they both expressed for the good of their country. And they had upon some occasions before this time appeared together in action: But *Pelopidas* having made a more early figure in the army, the success, which the *Thebans* had hitherto met with, was generally ascribed to him: However, *Epaminondas* had done enough to distinguish himself; and they both now came to be considered in the same light, as Generals abroad, and as Governors at home.

When the treaty proposed by the *Athenians* was upon the point of being executed, the *Thebans* demanded to be comprehended in it, under the name of the *Bæotians*, and to be expressly styled so. But the other contracting powers would not agree to it: *Agésilas* particularly insisted upon their leaving *Bæotia* free and independent. He was answered by *Epaminondas*, who was there as Ambassador on the part of the *Thebans*, *That they, the Spartans, would do well to shew them the example, by setting free the country of Laconia; for that the pretensions of the city of Thebes to the one, were as well founded as those of the city of Sparta to the other.* He urged farther, not only in behalf of the *Thebans*, but of *Greece* in general, *That Sparta had aggrandized herself by war at the expence of her neighbours; that*

that peace might be obtained, and such a one as might be solid and lasting ; but that it could not be otherwise so, than by reducing all to an equality.

These remonstrances, however just they were, yet so incensed *Agefilaus*, that he struck the name of the *Thebans* out of the treaty, and declared war against them.

*Agefilaus
declares
war a-
gainst the
Thebans.*

The entering into a war in this manner was thought, both by the *Spartans* and their allies, too hasty a step; and when it was at last, and with some difficulty, decreed by the *Ephori*, it was censured as an act more of passion than judgment, and as owing to the particular pique *Agefilaus* had to the *Thebans*, on whose account he had been called out of *Asia*; and thereupon he laid hold of all opportunities of being revenged on them. However, he took care at the same time to conclude a peace with the rest of the *Grecians*, though it was couched in so loose and general terms, as if it were intended only to serve the present occasion, lest any of them should join against him, and that he might afterwards either observe or break it, according as he should find it most for his purpose. This agrees with what he said to the other Ambassadors upon his dismissing them, *That what could be amicably adjusted, should; and that what was not otherwise to be remedied, must be determined by the sword, it being too difficult a task to provide for every thing by treaty.*

The

The *Thebans* were by this means left to themselves; and *Cleombrotus* lying then in *Phocis* with ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, the *Ephori* sent him orders to march immediately into *Bæotia*; and at the same time they ordered fresh levies to be made in *Laconia*, and among their allies. The *Thebans*, though they were under the utmost consternation, and that all *Greece* in general looked upon them as lost, prepared to stand upon their defence. *Epaminondas* was appointed commander in chief; but there were joined with him, at his own request, six others, as his council or assistants.

Cleombrotus in the mean time pursued his march with great diligence, and went on as to a certain victory. However, when he arrived upon the frontiers of *Bæotia*, he sent, under colour of justifying his proceedings, to demand of the *Thebans*, *That they should restore the Bæotian cities to their liberty; that they should rebuild Plataea and Thespiae, which they had demolished in the last war; and that they should make good all the losses the inhabitants had sustained.* *Epaminondas* returned an answer suitable to the demand, *That the Spartans had nothing to do with Bæotia, and that the Thebans were not accountable to them for their conduct.*

There now remained nothing further to be done on either side but to prepare for action. But just as the *Thebans* marched out of the city, they were terrified by omens and prodigies which

which they interpreted to portend ill success to them. *Epaminondas*, by way of encouragement, repeated to them a verse out of *Homer*, which implied, * *That there was one sure good omen to those who fought for their country.* One of these unlucky auguries was a sudden great clap of thunder, which they looked upon as a warning from heaven, and addressed themselves to their General, to know his sentiments upon it. But he being more attentive to the incampment of the *Spartan* army than to the thunder, gave them no other answer than *That he wondered to see the enemy had pitched upon so bad a piece of ground, when they might have posted themselves so much more advantageously.* However, to prevent any further effects of this superstition or fear, which was among the troops, he found it necessary to humour them a little, and to take them in their own way. Accordingly he invented other counter-omens and auguries, and made use of old prophecies and predictions, which he applied to the present occasion, and took care to have them explained in so favourable a manner, that the soldiers went on in full confidence of success, and were eager to engage. The next point in debate was among the Generals, whether they should act defensively, or march up to the *Spartan* camp, and offer them battle. The council of war upon this occasion,

* Εἰς οὐρανὸς ἄγεις, ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πατρὸς.

sion, consisted of *Epaminondas*, and five of his colleagues; and they were equally divided in opinion. But *Pelopidas*, as some say, came in afterwards, and by his vote it was determined to give the enemy battle. Accordingly the two armies met in the plain of *Leuctra*, a town in *Bœotia*.

Archidamus, the son of *Agefilaus*, having joined the *Spartans* with the new levies, had increased their number to four and twenty thousand; whereas the *Thebans* had at the most but six thousand. There was also a great disproportion in their horse: But the *Thebans* had vastly the advantage, both in the quality of their horses and in their management of them.

A. M.
3634.
Olymp.
102. 2.
*The battle
of Leuctra*

Epaminondas endeavoured to supply his want of troops by his disposition, and by the vigour of his attack. And taking to himself the command of the left wing, opposite to the right of the enemy, commanded by *Cleombrotus*, he put the main stress of the battle there, concluding, that if he could break that body of *Spartans*, the rest would easily be put to the rout. With this view, he strengthened his wing with his heavy-armed infantry, and the best of the other troops; by which addition it was fifty men deep, whereas that of the *Spartans* was but twelve. He closed it with the *Sacred Band*, under the command of *Pelopidas*; and his horse he placed in the front of it, after the example of *Cleombrotus*. Having drawn off so many
from

from his other wing, he ordered those who remained in it, to fall back in a slanting line, as if they declined fighting, and were making their retreat; which he did, that they might not be left too much exposed, and that they might cover his flank on the right, and be a body to reserve of him in case of need.

He then advanced with his wing, extending it obliquely, in order to draw off the right wing of the *Spartans* from their main body. The enemy perceiving his design, changed their order of battle, and began to extend their wing likewise, with an intent to surround *Epaminondas*. But before they could open and close their divisions, he took advantage of their forming themselves, and began the attack with the horse: And *Pelopidas* charging with him at the same time, with incredible speed and bravery at the head of his *battalion*, they followed the horse, and pressed so hard upon the *Spartans*, that though they were, of all the *Grecians*, the most expert in recovering any surprise or disorder of that kind, their skill was now quite baffled. Their horse being not able to stand the shock, were forced back upon their infantry, which, by this means, was broke, and thrown into a good deal of confusion. The *Thebans* having made this impression with their horse, pushed on to *Cleombrotus*, and opened their way to him with great slaughter; notwithstanding that the *Spartans* fought with their
wonted

wonted bravery, and held the victory some time in suspense. At length *Cleombrotus* fell, with *Dinon*, *Sphodrias*, his son *Cleonymus*, and other officers of note, who came up to defend the person of their King. And when he was killed, the fight was renewed with greater rage and obstinacy, both to revenge his death, and to recover his body. This latter was a point of honour with the *Spartans*, which they could not for shame give up; and *Epaminondas* chose rather to gratify them in it than to hazard the further success of the battle. Wherefore he left them in possession of their dead King, and went on to their other wing, which was commanded by *Archidamus*, and consisted chiefly of the allies, who had not willingly been engaged in this quarrel, but were the more easily persuaded to it from the weakness of the *Thebans*; so that they thought they had little more to do than to take the field, and that they were to conquer without fighting, or, as *Diodorus* expresses it, * without dust. But they were so disheartened at the death of *Cleombrotus*, and the defeat of his wing, that they soon betook themselves to flight, and were followed by the rest of the army. *Epaminondas* pursued them with great slaughter, until having compleated his victory, he remained master of the field, and erected a trophy. There fell in the battle four thousand on the side of *Sparta*, whereof one thousand were

* αἰὼνι.

were *Lacedæmonians*, and the flower of their army; and four hundred of them were citizens of *Sparta*. The *Thebans* lost in the whole but three hundred men.

Epaminondas had succeeded in every part of this action according to his wish, and according to the manner in which he had projected it. His skill and conduct in this battle, and in that which succeeded it at *Mantineæ*, are looked upon as master-pieces in their kind: And they who are curious that way may see the exact plans of them, as they are described by a * late author in his comments upon *Polybius*.

This battle was fought within twenty days after the conclusion of the peace. And as it was the sharpest of any that had happened during the wars of the *Grecians* among themselves, so it was more remarkable for the number of the slain: there having seldom been above four or five hundred killed on the side of the vanquished, even in the height of the rivalry between *Athens* and *Sparta*, when they fought with the most rancour and inveteracy. The *Thebans* acquired more glory by it than any of the republicks had ever gained by any single victory in those wars: And *Epaminondas* felt such a sudden excess of joy upon it, that he went out of his usual character, and was hardly able to contain himself. But the next day, upon cooler thoughts, he resumed the philosopher;

* *Le Chevalier de Folard.*

sopher; and appeared so pensive and melancholy, that his friends were very inquisitive to know the cause of it. He told them, *He had suffered himself to be too much transported upon his victory, and that he was now undergoing a proper chastisement for it.* But his command of himself upon this occasion did not come up to that of the *Spartans*, whose behaviour after the battle was so remarkably great, that I question whether it can be paralleled in the history of any age or country.

The behaviour of the Spartans after their defeat.

It happened, that when the news of the defeat came to *Sparta*, they were celebrating a public festival in the city, where there was a great concourse of strangers from several parts of *Greece*. The *Ephori*, who from the accounts they had already received of the battle, could not but be sensible of the terrible consequences of it, yet gave orders that the solemnity of the day should not be interrupted; but privately sending the names of the slain to each family, out of which they were lost, they went on with the sports and ceremonies, as if nothing had happened. The next morning, when they were more fully informed of the particulars, the fathers and relations of the slain came out rejoicing in the market-place, and saluting each other with a kind of exultation: On the contrary, the fathers of those who survived the battle concealed themselves in their houses; and if any of them were, upon any necessary occasion, obliged to go

go abroad, it was easily discovered by their looks, that they were ashamed to own their children. The women carried it still further; the mothers of the slain openly rejoicing, cheerfully making visits to each other, and assembling in a triumphant manner in the temples; whilst they who expected their children home, sat silent and dejected.

But the generality of the people were awakened by this misfortune, and considered it as a blow, that they should never be able to recover. They began to despair, when they found themselves without troops, deserted by their allies, and, in a manner, at the mercy of the conqueror; especially when they were further informed, that he designed to invade *Peloponnesus*. This occasioned a general murmuring and repining: It brought to their remembrance the former predictions of the oracle, *That they should suffer under a lame King*. They considered further, that they had given the crown to this lame King, in prejudice to the right of *Leotychidas* his nephew. But notwithstanding these reflections, and that he had undoubtedly been the sole author of their present calamity, he had still so much credit with them, that they renewed the confidence they had formerly placed in him, and submitted their affairs entirely to his determination, either as to peace or war.

One great point under their immediate consideration, was concerning those who had fled out of the battle. They were by the law, in that case, to be degraded from all honours, and rendered infamous, insomuch that it was a disgrace to intermarry with them: They were to appear publickly in mean and dirty habits, with patched and party-coloured garments, and to go half shaved; and whoever met them in the streets, might insult and beat them, and they were not to make any resistance. This was so severe a law, and such numbers had incurred the penalties of it, many of whom were of great families and interest, that they apprehended the execution of it might occasion some public commotions; besides, that these citizens, such as they were, could very ill be spared at this time, when they wanted to recruit the army. Under this difficulty, they gave *Agefilous* a power even over the laws, to dispense with them, or to abrogate them, or to enact such new ones as the present exigency required. He would not abolish or make any variation in the law itself, but made a public declaration, That it should lie dormant for that single day, but revive and be in full force again on the morrow; and by that expedient he saved the citizens from infamy.

C H A P. IV.

From the battle of *Leuctra*, to the battle of
Mantineia.

Containing the space of eight years.

THE fugitives being thus re-instated in the army, *Agésilas* made an inroad into *Arcadia*, where he took a small town belonging to the *Mantineans*, and wasted the territory, but avoided engaging in any hazardous enterprise, doing no more at present than what was barely necessary to keep his men in action, and to revive their spirits, and at the same time to shew that the fortune of *Sparta* was not quite desperate.

The *Thebans* in the mean time were endeavouring to improve their victory; and sent an herald crowned with a garland, to communicate it in form to the *Athenians*, and to demand their assistance. But they did not think this a time to break with *Sparta*; they found it a fit opportunity to make themselves more absolutely masters at sea; and if they could not carry it further, so as to obtain the sovereignty of *Greece*, at least they thought it better to share in it with *Sparta*, than to endanger the letting the *Thebans* into the whole: Upon which con-

siderations they dismissed the herald without giving him audience.

Olymp.
102. 3.
The Athenians take advantage of this overthrow of the Spartans.

With these views, they gave the *Spartans* to understand, that, as they had lost their power, it was expected they should lay aside their haughtiness and severity. At the same time they took upon themselves to maintain the peace, which, by the deputies of the several cities assembled at *Athens*, they caused to be renewed and ratified, in the name of them, and their confederates. The *Thebans* stood out as before; and the *Eleans* now followed their example, objecting against the freedom of several towns, which they pretended to be immediately under their jurisdiction. And several other states afterwards fell in with the *Thebans*; some by compulsion, and more out of inclination and policy, as they found they were most likely to be protected by them. *Thebes* was now become the common asylum for those who apprehended the power of their neighbours, and more particularly of the *Spartans*.

Several states side with the Thebans.

The Mantineans rebuild their city.

The *Mantineans* about this time took occasion to rebuild their city, which, with the assistance of the *Eleans*, and some part of the *Arcadians*, they perfected, and walled in, as before. And, according to *Pausanias*, the *Arcadians* in general, by the persuasion of *Epaminondas*, out of several small towns, built one common city by the name of *Megalopolis*; though *Diodorus* places it two years lower, upon their

their great overthrow by the *Spartans*. Thus far the *Arcadians* had made a right and reasonable use of *Sparta's* being humbled: But they, and some other states, when they found themselves restored, according to the treaty, to the free enjoyment of their own laws, and forms of government, grew wanton and capricious, and fell into such dissensions among themselves, as proved of worse consequence to them than the dominion of *Sparta*.

This was the case of the *Tegeans*, who had formed a scheme of uniting themselves with all the rest of the *Arcadians*, into one body of a common-wealth, with a general council, consisting of ten thousand; in whom there was to be lodged an absolute power, to determine all matters relating to peace and war. But this project occasioned such factions and tumults among them, that great numbers were killed, and above fourteen hundred banished; and it ended in bringing the *Spartans* again upon them, under the old pretence of restoring exiles, and in making their country a seat of war.

*Commo-
tions in
Arcadia.*

Agefilas immediately took occasion from these intestine divisions, to send a body of fifteen hundred men among them, under the command of *Polytropus*. He possessed himself of * *Orchomenus*; which was well affected to *Sparta*, and garrisoned it. *Lycomedes*, the *Arcadian* Ge-

*A battle at
Orchome-
nus.*

K 3

neral,

* *There was another city of this name in Bœotia.*

neral, being about three to one stronger, marched up to him, and offered him battle under the walls. *Polytropus* accepted it, and was killed, with two hundred of his men; and the rest were forced back into the city. However, *Lycomedes* not doubting but the *Spartans* would come with a greater force to revenge themselves, did not think it adviseable to pursue his victory without some further assistance. Accordingly, he applied to the *Athenians*; but they refused to join with him, concluding, as they had done before, with regard to the *Thebans*, that *Sparta* was low enough already, and that it would be wrong policy in them at this time to support any other state against her. Hereupon the *Arcadians* had recourse to the *Thebans*, who received them with open arms; and this was a great addition to the confederacy that was forming against *Sparta*.

*Sedition at
Argos.*

About the time of the civil discord among the *Arcadians* concerning their new form of government, there happened a more grievous instance of the same kind at *Argos*; where the government being in the people, the orators, or demagogues, (as they were more properly called) stirred them up against the nobility, who, to secure themselves against the insults and outrages to which they were exposed, entered into conspiracy to destroy the *Democracy*. Which being suspected by the commons, they put several to the rack, and extorted from them

them a confession of the whole design. Whereupon they murdered thirty of those who were principally concerned, without any form of trial: And many false accusations against others were dressed up and aggravated by these orators; insomuch that there were above sixteen hundred of the greatest and richest men of the city executed, and their estates confiscated. At length the orators, whether they were struck with remorse for the cruelties they had occasioned, or that they were afraid of being at last involved in the general ruin, began to slacken in their prosecutions; and the people from thence concluding that they had deserted their cause, murdered such of them as they could find remaining in the city. This was the greatest massacre that had happened in any city of *Greece*; and it was distinguished by the name of *The Scytalism*, from the manner in which it was executed, by the knocking on the head with clubs. And this sedition was a very unlucky conjuncture for that city, which was so rich and powerful, that she was in a condition to dispute the sovereignty of *Greece*. This opinion was confirmed by *Jason*, who, putting in his claim to it in behalf of the *Thessalians*, made use of it as an argument to them, that the *Argives* were too much weakened with their intestine broils, to appear as competitors.

*Account of
Jason of
Thessaly.*

This *Jason* had a little principality at *Pberæ*; and having ambitious views, and extraordinary skill in military affairs, got himself to be declared General of *Thessaly*; with which authority he had gained many of the neighbouring countries into his alliance; and the *Thebans* courted him for his assistance, when they found themselves disappointed of it at *Athens*. He appeared ready to join them with a good body of troops; but when it came to the point, he diverted them from pursuing their victory, advising them to use it with moderation, and not to make the *Spartans* desperate. The *Spartans* on the other hand, he persuaded to lie by a little, until they had recovered breath, and could fight upon more advantageous terms: So that he acted rather as a mediator than an ally; and there is mention made of a truce concluded between them by his means; but the account of it is so differently related, that it does not appear whether it were before, or after the battle of *Leuctra*. *Jason's* business was to manage so between those states, that neither of them might grow too powerful, and that he might make his advantage of it in bringing about his own designs; which, by his money, art and eloquence, he had in some measure effected. But notwithstanding that he was eager in the pursuit of his ambition, he endeavoured to save appearances, and to preserve a good character; so that when he had injured or molested any of his neighbours, he would say,

by

by way of excuse, *There is a necessity for those to be unjust in small matters who will act justly in great ones.* He was at the head of an army of ten thousand horse, and twenty thousand heavy-armed foot, without reckoning the light armed soldiers: And with this force he might soon have been capable of giving law to the rest of Greece. But before he could make any attempt towards it, he was suddenly assassinated at the instigation of his brothers *Polydore* and *Polyphron*, who jointly succeeded him: But the latter killed the other, and was soon after killed himself by his * nephew *Alexander*, under the pretence of revenging the death of his father *Polydore*. By this means *Alexander* possessed himself of *Pheræ*, and became very oppressive and tyrannical. But as I shall have occasion to mention him more particularly, I would here only observe, that from the time of *Jason's* death, the *Thebians* lost the influence they had in the affairs of Greece, and the prospect of obtaining the sovereignty of it in their turn.

The *Thebans* in the mean time having, besides the late accession of the *Arcadians*, got the *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Acar-nanians*, *Eubæans*, and other neighbouring states, under their dependence, were preparing to act offensively against the *Spartans*; and under a notion of assisting the *Arcadians* against them, entered *Peloponnesus*; where, having joined the *Arcadians*, and the rest

Olymp.
102. 4.
The The-
bans act
offensively
against
of Sparta.

* Some make him his brother.

of the confederates, they made up an army of forty, some say, fifty thousand men, besides great numbers who followed the camp for plunder, amounting in the whole to seventy thousand. *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* having the command of the army, divided it into four bodies, who broke into *Laconia* at four several parts of it at the same time; then made a general rendezvous at *Sellasia*, and pursued their march with fire and sword towards *Sparta*. *Agefilas* was at this time in pursuit of the *Arcadians*, after the defeat of *Polytropus*: But upon this approach of the *Thebans*, he immediately returned to *Sparta*, where he found the inhabitants under the utmost terror and consternation; and the more so, because no enemy had appeared there in the course of near six hundred years, since the *Dorians*, as descendants of *Hercules*, first got possession of the country. Hence it was, that *Plato* said, *The city of Sparta was like the temple of the furies, which nobody had courage enough to approach*. And it was a frequent saying of *Agefilas* himself, *That the women of Sparta had never seen the smoke of the enemies fire*; which was now retorted upon him. There was another saying of *Antalcidas* to the same purpose, who, being in dispute with an *Athenian*, about the valour of the two nations, the *Athenian* bragged, *That his countrymen had often drove the Spartans from the river Cephisus*. Yes, said *Antalcidas*; but we never had occasion to drive you from the *Eurotas*.

But

But this was not the case at present: For *Epaminondas*, at the head of his infantry, passed that river, though it was then swelled to an unusual height; and though the *Spartans* taking that opportunity to fall upon him, cut off a good number of his men, however, he made good his passage, and marched up to the suburbs of the city; where the inhabitants were, with great difficulty, restrained from rushing out in a confused and desperate manner upon the enemy. But *Agefilas* upon this occasion shewed more temper than ordinary; he found it necessary to lay aside his pride and obstinacy, and to play a saving game. He endeavoured to quiet the minds of the people, so as to keep them within their bounds, and made the best disposition he could of them, for the defence of the city. It was thought proper in this extremity to proclaim, that as many of the *Helots* as would enlist, and form themselves into companies, should receive their freedom; and a thousand of them accepted the offer; *Xenophon* says six thousand; which is not very improbable, from the circumstance he adds, that when they were armed in a body, they made so formidable an appearance, that the *Spartans* themselves durst not trust them, without placing a good number of mercenaries and other troops, as a guard upon them.

The *Thebans* being thus far advanced, made a sort of encampment near the city, and endeavoured to draw the *Spartans* out of it, in order
to

And attempt to take the city by storm.

But are repulsed.

to a pitched battle : But *Agefilaus* had retired to an eminence in the heart of the town, and intended nothing more than the defence of it. Hereupon they resolved to attack it, and endeavoured to take it by storm ; but they found the avenues so well secured, that they met with more difficulty than they expected. When, at length, they made an irruption with their horse, the *Spartan* horse opposed them ; and a party of three hundred foot, who lay in ambuscade, falling out upon them at the same time, they were repulsed with considerable loss, and discouraged from making a second attempt. They contented themselves with encamping again without the city, where they bid defiance to the *Spartans*, and challenged them to come out, and give them battle ; to which they returned a very cool answer, *That they would not decline it, when they saw a proper occasion.* Then they reproached *Agefilaus* by name, as the incendiary of the war, and the author of all the mischief done to his country. But he resolved not to be provoked ; he overlooked all these personal insults and reflections, as the effects of rage and disappointment, and would not suffer himself to be diverted from the only point he had then in view, which was the security of the city ; and the preservation of it at this time was no less owing to this command of himself, than to his good conduct in other respects.

The

The behaviour of *Ischolas*, the *Spartan*, upon this occasion, deserves particular notice. He commanded one of the detachments which were ordered out to secure the most important passes; but finding it too weak to stand the attack of the enemy, he picked out the youngest of the men, and sent them back as a reserve for the future service of their country; and with the rest, devoting himself, after the example of *Leonidas*, to the public good, he made a long and obstinate defence, and fought until they were all killed to a man. The *Thebans* proposing nothing further to themselves there, decamped; and, after having plundered and laid waste all the country, returned into *Arcadia*.

*Behavi-
our of Is-
cholas.*

This expedition had not answered the great preparations that were made for it: But *Epaminondas*, to make it the more memorable, proposed the restoring the posterity of the old *Messenians*, who had near three hundred years before been driven out by the *Spartans*, and were settled in *Sicily*, *Italy*, and other parts; where they retained their ancient customs and manners, and the *Dorick* dialect. By a general consent of his allies, he invited them home to their native country; and their city was immediately rebuilt and peopled; so that in a few months it recovered its former state and grandeur; and a strong garrison was left for its defence. The territory was likewise divided by lot among the new inhabitants. The re-settling a people
who

*Epami-
nondas re-
stores the
Messenians.*

who had made so considerable a figure in the early times of *Greece*, did highly redound to the honour of *Epaminondas*, and was a fresh disgrace to the *Spartans*, for having tamely suffered the loss of a country of as large extent as their own, and the most fertile of any in *Greece*; besides, that they had been so long in possession of it, and held it as a barrier against any invasion on that side: And *Agésilas* was so piqued at it, that he made it the grounds of continuing the war with the *Thebans*, when they offered him peace; and the consequence of his refusal was, that it very near occasioned the loss of *Sparta* itself.

The *Thebans*, in their return home, met with some opposition from *Iphicrates*, who had been sent with twelve thousand *Athenians*, to assist the *Spartans* in their extremity; but having loitered at *Corinth*, he did not come up until the business was over: And afterwards he omitted to secure an important pass, called *Cenchreae*, which would have given them a great deal of disturbance in their retreat. His conduct throughout in this affair was blamed; which was the more remarkable in him, because he never misbehaved upon any other occasion.

Epaminondas and Pelopidas imprisoned at their return.

Epaminondas and *Pelopidas*, at their return to *Thebes*, instead of receiving the acknowledgments due to their services, we clapped up as state prisoners, for having continued in their command four months longer than the time limited

limited by law, which took in almost the whole of this expedition, from their first entrance into *Peloponnesus*: And as the crime was capital, they were tried for it. They had nothing to allege in their excuse for so manifest a violation of the law, but the advantages they had obtained for their country; so that they confessed the charge, and submitted themselves to their judges. Their enemies had used great art and industry to incense the people against them: Which *Epaminondas* perceiving, and that they were ready to pass sentence of death against him, reminded them of the battle of *Leuctra*, and his other exploits, by which he had saved his country, and restored the liberty of *Greece*: And he made it his request to have it inscribed upon his tombstone, *That for those services he was punished with death*. This manner of reproaching them had so good an effect, that they were ashamed to proceed any further against him, and he was honourably acquitted; as was likewise *Pelopidas*, who being of a warmer temper, and spirited up by his friends, expressed his resentment of this usage, and revenged himself upon *Meneclides*, who was at the bottom of this prosecution, and was a very able speaker, but loose in his manners, ill-natured, perverse and envious. He was one of those who met at *Charon's* house upon the affair of the *Cadmea*; and not thinking himself considered enough for his share in that enter-

*They are
tried and
acquitted.*

enterprize, made it his business, upon all occasions, to accuse and calumniate his superiors. Even after the trial, he prevailed so far as to get *Epaminondas* excluded for a year from the government of *Boeotia*: But *Pelopidas* being more a favourite with the people, he went another way to work, and endeavoured to supplant him, by setting up *Charon* against him, which he contrived in the following manner. There was a famous painter of *Cyzicus* employed at *Thebes* in drawing a battle, but was forced away by the revolt there, before he had put the last hand to it. However, the picture remaining in the city, *Meneclides* proposed the hanging it up in some public place, with an inscription to perpetuate the memory of a victory obtained by *Charon* at *Platea*, though it was in reality no more than a skirmish, wherein forty *Spartans* were killed. This action happened a little before the battle of *Leuctra*; and the magnifying it in this manner was plainly with a design to eclipse the glory of that day, and to throw a slur upon the two Generals who commanded. *Pelopidas* therefore opposed the motion; which yet he did with great art and decency with regard to *Charon*, to whom he gave all due praise; but at the same time he exposed the absurdity of the proposal, and the malice and impertinence of the author of it; which the people being sensible of, laid so heavy a fine upon him, that he

he was not able to pay it; and from thenceforward he grew a common disturber of the government.

But to return to the *Spartans*; they had unexpectedly got rid of a very formidable enemy: But the terror and confusion they had been in, the sense of the losses they had sustained, and their apprehensions of what further might happen, had created a great deal of ill-blood among them, and raised such a spirit of murmuring and caballing against the government, that *Agésilæus* found it almost as difficult a task to manage the people in the city, as to keep the enemy out of it. There was an instance of this kind, wherein he shewed extraordinary address, and presence of mind. Two hundred malecontents had got into a strong part of the town, called *Ifforion*, where they had seized the temple of *Diana*. *Agésilæus* would not employ force against them, not knowing how deep the plot might be laid, and how far it might spread; but went muffled up in his cloak, with only one servant; and being come near the rebels, called out, and told them, *You have mistaken my orders; my directions were not that you should all go in a body to that station, but some of you should plant yourselves there, and others there*; at the same time pointing out to them different parts of the city. They went off accordingly, without the least suspicion, to the places which he marked

*Cabals
and con-
spiracies
in Sparta.*

*The means
by which
Agésilæus
suppressed
them.*

out to them; and immediately, upon their being thus dispersed, he ordered some of the troops to possess themselves of that post, and caused about fifteen of the conspirators to be apprehended; and they were put to death the night following. This conspiracy was followed by another of more dangerous consequence, wherein a great number of the citizens were engaged, and had private consultations every night, how to introduce a change in the government. They were so strong a party, that it was neither safe to prosecute them publicly according to law, nor to let them go on, and connive at them. Wherefore *Agelilaus* took another course, and, with the consent of the *Ephori*, put them to death privately without process; which had never before been practised in *Sparta*. But the present exigency of affairs seemed to make it necessary; for these seditions happened about the time of the *Theban* expedition. And to add to the consternation the city was then under, many of the *Helots* and mercenaries at the same time deserted to the enemy.

But the *Spartans* having got over these domestick difficulties, and repulsed the *Thebans*, began now to look abroad, and provide for their future security. They had got together a good body of auxiliaries from *Corinth*, and other parts of *Peloponnesus*: But their chief dependence was on the *Athenians*, to whom they had

had formally given up the command at sea, in order to fix them in their interest; but they were not so sanguine in it as was expected; so that what they did was rather to keep the *Thebans* under than to assist the *Spartans*. They now insisted on being upon the same footing with them both at sea and land, which they called, treating upon equal terms: And since nothing less would content them, it was accordingly agreed, that each state should command five days alternately.

The command divided equally between Athens and Sparta.

This agreement was no sooner made, but the *Arcadians* renewed the war. They took *Pallene* in *Laconia* by storm, where they put above three hundred *Spartans* in garrison to the sword, and ravaged the country. After which they were joined by the *Argives* and *Eleans*; and the *Thebans* sent *Epaminondas* again to them, with seven thousand foot, and five hundred horse. The *Athenians* being now in earnest, sent *Chabrias* to oppose his passage. He joined the *Spartans*, with their allies, at *Corinth*, where they made up an army of twenty thousand men; to which there was afterwards an addition of two thousand from *Sicily*, who did good service. *Epaminondas* came up to force his passage, as he had done before, into *Peloponnesus*; but finding it shut up with a wall, and a deep intrenchment across the *Isthmus*, as at the time of the invasion by *Xerxes*, he endeavoured to draw the enemy out into the field, which they declined,

The Arcadians renew the war. Olymp. 103. 1.

Epami-
nondas a-
gain in-
vades Pe-
loponne-
sus,

and as-
saults Co-
rinth.

But is re-
pulsed by
Chabrias.

although they were near three times his number. Whereupon he surveyed the works, and finding one part, where the *Spartans* were posted, weaker than the rest, he chose to make his main attack there; which he did, with such resolution and bravery, that, after a very hot dispute on both sides, he opened the passage, and harassed the country. *Sicyon*, and some other places, having submitted to him, he pursued his march to *Corinth*; where, after some skirmishing, he came up with his whole strength, and made so vigorous an assault, that the inhabitants were in the utmost despair. But *Chabrias* came out, and stood the shock, and by the advantage of the ground, and the constant fresh supplies which he received from the city, repulsed the enemy with great loss; whereupon they not only retreated from *Corinth*, but quitted *Peloponnesus*: And the honour of this defence was almost entirely owing to *Chabrias*.

Epaminondas, by one part of his conduct in this expedition, incurred the displeasure of the state. For notwithstanding his bravery in forcing the pass, that was defended by the *Spartans*, he was suspected of partiality towards them, for not having pursued and slaughtered them, when they were judged to be in his power. His enemies aggravating the matter, and making it a charge of treachery, got him turned out of the government of *Boeotia*, and reduced to the condition of a private man. This accusation was
thought

thought to be well founded enough for so severe a censure: However, an occasion offered soon after, wherein his service was so seasonable, and so important, that he easily wiped off the aspersion.

It does not appear what effect the dividing the command between *Athens* and *Sparta* had upon this invasion; however, it produced one good consequence, as it served to weaken the confederacy against them. For it was now made use of as a precedent by the *Arcadians*, who were grown so elated with their successes, and put such a value upon their services against *Sparta*, that they disdained to act any longer in subordination to the *Thebans*. This spirit was raised in them by *Lycomedes* of *Mantineia*, who had been their general in most of their late expeditions. He was of great birth and fortune, and being ambitious withal, represented to them, That the whole country of *Peloponnesus* belonged properly to them, as the first ancient inhabitants; that they were the most numerous of any people in *Greece*, and so stout and powerful, that they had always been considered in the first rank of auxiliaries; insomuch that the *Spartans* had never done any thing against *Athens* without them, nor had the *Thebans* now appeared against *Sparta*, if they had not supported them: That as they had formerly advanced the affairs of the *Spartans*, they were now doing the same for the *Thebans*; and that in short, if they did not insist upon

The Arcadians spirited up by Lycomedes.

commanding in their turn with them, they might in the end find them *Spartans* too. He had so inflamed them with these remonstrances, and gained such an entire credit with them, that they easily agreed to every thing he proposed; and there was nothing so difficult that they were not ready to undertake. This created a great coldness and jealousy on the part of the *Thebans*: And the *Eleans* at the same time were inclined to break with the *Arcadians*, for refusing to deliver up to them some of their towns, which had been taken by the *Spartans*.

Fresh overtures of peace.

Whilst these disputes were on foot, the King of *Persia* sent to manage the renewal of the peace among the *Grecians*, that they might be able to spare him such succours as he had occasion for. The chief point in debate, was, the restoring *Messene* to the *Spartans*; which the *Thebans* not agreeing to, the negotiations broke off; and *Philiscus* of *Abydos*, who was employed on the part of the *Persians*, returned into *Asia*, having left behind him two thousand mercenaries, with money to pay them, for the service of the *Spartans*. At the same time they received a second supply of two thousand men from *Sicily*.

Agefilaus, on account of his age, got the command of the army transferred to his son *Archidamus*, who marched against the *Arcadians*; and, in return for what they had done the last year in *Laconia*, stormed a town called *Caryæ*, and put the

the garrison to the sword; from whence he proceeded to *Parrhasia*, and destroyed the country about it. The *Sicilian* troops being now upon their return home, were intercepted by the *Messenians*; and *Archidamus* coming up to their relief, was opposed by the *Arcadians* and *Argives*; but he charged them so furiously, that he broke them at once, and gained a victory not easily to be accounted for. It is said there fell above ten thousand of the enemy, without the loss of one single man on the side of the *Spartans*; and hence it was distinguished by the name of *The tearless battle*. The joy upon the arrival of the news at *Sparta* was so great, that the people were not able to contain themselves. This was the first remarkable success they had met with since their defeat at *Leuctra*, which had made such an impression on them, that it is said, *The men were ever since ashamed to look their wives in the face*. But this had given them new life; they went in crowds to the banks of the *Eurotas*, full of praise and thanksgiving to the gods, as having washed off the stain of that action, and restored their city to its ancient splendor. *Plutarch* remarks, that this excess of joy too plainly discovered the present weakness of *Sparta*; for that victory was formerly so common to them, that it was looked upon as a thing of course: The soldiers did not boast of it, nor were the citizens exalted upon it; so that in the most extraordinary case, they seldom fa-

*A signal
victory of
the Spar-
tans.*

crificed any thing more than a cock; and the messenger who brought them the news of a signal victory at *Mantineia* in the time of the *Peloponnesian* war, had no other reward than a piece of salt meat. But this was received in another manner; insomuch that the old King himself went out in procession, to meet and embrace his son, and was attended by the *Ephori*, and the whole senate, and all with tears of joy in their eyes.

The *Thebans* and *Eleans* were far from being displeased at this disaster, which the *Arcadians* had brought upon themselves by their ill-timed vanity and arrogance: And this defeat of them was followed by a further train of misfortunes.

The Thebans increase in power.

The *Thebans* in the mean time were daily increasing in power, which gave them great credit and influence among their neighbours; and *Pe- lopidas* was chiefly instrumental in it. They were become moderators of the quarrels about the succession in *Macedonia*, where they had composed the differences in the Royal Family, and taken as hostages at one time thirty, and afterwards fifty young men of the chief families, and with the former the King's brother, who was afterwards known by the name of *Philip* of *Macedon*, and father of *Alexander the Great*.

They were likewise applied to by the *Thessalians* for protection against the tyranny of *Alexander the Phærean*; whereupon *Pe- lopidas* was sent

as ambassador to expostulate with him, and bring him to reason. Upon his return from *Macedonia*, he went to *Pharsalus* in *Thessaly*, in order to revenge the treachery of some mercenary troops, who had deserted him in that expedition. He was no sooner arrived there, but *Alexander* appeared before the place with a great army. *Pelopidas* had but a few *Thessalian* troops with him; and imagining that *Alexander* came thither to justify himself, and answer the complaints that were made against him, he and *Ismenias*, who was joined in commission with him, went alone, and unarmed to him, not doubting but the power and authority of *Thebes*, with their own personal reputation, and the public character with which they were invested, would protect them against any violence. But the tyrant finding them in his power, seized them, and sent them prisoners to *Pheræ*. *Polybius* calls it an unpardonable act of imprudence and rashness in *Pelopidas*, to trust himself so far to one whom he knew to be so wicked and perfidious. *Alexander* at first permitted every body to see him, with an intent, by making him a public spectacle, to break his spirit, and humble him. But it had a different effect: He sent to tell him in defiance, *That it was absurd in him daily to torment and put to death so many innocent worthy citizens, and to spare him, who, he knew, if ever he escaped out of his hands, would certainly make him suffer the punishment due to his crimes.*

The

Pelopidas and Ismenias imprisoned by Alexander of Pheræ.

The tyrant, surpris'd at his intrepidity, answered, *Why is Pelopidas in so much haste to die?* Which being reported to him, he sent him this reply, *It is, that thou mayest perish so much the sooner, by becoming still more hateful to gods and men.* From that time *Alexander* allowed nobody to see or discourse with him but *Thebe* his wife, whose curiosity was rais'd by the account his keepers had given her of his behaviour. As soon as she was admitted to him, she fell a weeping, and said, *I pity your wife.* And *I you*, said he, *who can bear with Alexander, when you are not his prisoner.* This reply affected her nearly, and roused in her such a sense of her husband's ill usage of her, that she repeated her visits to *Pelopidas*, and complain'd freely to him of the many outrages she had received. He was not wanting, on his part, to incense her still more against him, until by degrees he had worked her up to the highest pitch of hatred and resentment. These frequent interviews had very much the appearance of a love affair, which she had chiefly promoted: But there is no real foundation to say that she went any further than to compassionate his sufferings, and to communicate her own, in order to revenge them; which accordingly she some time after accomplished.

*The The-
bans re-
sent it.*

The *Thebans* resenting this insult upon the person of their Ambassador, immediately sent an army into *Theffaly*; but the Generals, through

ill fortune, or ill conduct, being not able to effect any thing, were forced to retire. *Alexander* pursuing them, great numbers of their men were killed; and it was owing to *Epaminondas* that the rest of them were not totally defeated. He was at this time in disgrace with the government, the reason whereof has before been related; and therefore he had no command in this expedition, but served as a common soldier. However, when the troops found themselves under these difficulties, which they attributed to the incapacity of their officers, they obliged him to take upon him the command. He took the horse, and light-armed foot, and posting himself in the rear, repelled and charged the enemy by turns, until he made good the retreat. The *Thebans*, upon the return of the Generals, fined each of them ten thousand *Drachmas*; and soon after sent *Epaminondas* in their room, to repair this dishonour, and prosecute their revenge. *Alexander* was very much terrified at his second arrival: But he preferring the safety of *Pelopidas* to all other considerations, avoided pushing things to an extremity, for fear of making him desperate, so as to turn all his fury against his prisoner; and therefore lay hovering about with his army, so as to keep him in awe, and yet give him an opportunity of offering satisfaction; which had the effect he proposed. He thought it too dishonourable a part to enter into a treaty of alliance with one who was
looked

Pelopidas
and Isme-
nias re-
leased by
Epami-
nondas.

looked upon as a monster of mankind: But he granted a truce of thirty days; in which time having recovered *Pelopidas* and *Ismenias* out of his hands, he withdrew his forces. He conducted the whole of this affair with so much courage and capacity on the one hand, and so much prudence and temper on the other, that it entirely restored him to the favour and good opinion of his fellow citizens; and his generous behaviour in overlooking their unjust resentment against him, was not the least part of his praise in it.

The The-
bans pur-
sue their
design of
obtaining
the ove-
reignty of
Greece.

Pelopidas, notwithstanding this accident, had in the main been very successful in these foreign transactions; and he had raised such an opinion of the justice and integrity of the *Thebans*, as well as of their valour, that they were easily tempted to pursue their design of obtaining the sovereignty of *Greece*. But finding they could not compass it by their confederates at home, they had recourse to *Persia*. And they had now a good pretence for it; for the *Spartans* had before sent one thither to treat on their part. Whereupon the *Thebans* proposed it to their confederates as expedient, that each of them should depute some proper person to assist there likewise, in order to support their respective interests. Accordingly the *Arcadians*, *Eleans*, and *Argives* consented to it; and *Pelopidas* was named on behalf of the *Thebans*; which the *Athenians* being informed of, appointed

appointed two on their part also. But this was a proof how much they were degenerated from the virtue of their ancestors: For whatever mean applications had before been made to the *Persians* by particular persons or states, there had been no instance of a congress of this kind, where, by a general consent, all the leading states of *Greece* were, by their representatives, assembled in form, to discuss and settle their demands on each other, at the court of *Persia*. But this was the case at present; and the *Spartans* had chiefly contributed to it by the peace of *Anta'cidas*, which had prepared the *Grecians* in general to receive the yoke, and to govern themselves according to the edicts of that King, whose predecessors had been so shamefully baffled in their attempts against them, and who himself was so lately distressed by those very *Spartans*, when *Agessilaus* was ravaging in the heart of his empire.

Pelopidas being arrived with the other Ambassadors in *Persia*, so far ingratiated himself by his address, and the fame of his exploits, that he was particularly distinguished from the rest of them; and the King received him with most extraordinary marks of honour and esteem. He represented to him at his audience, That the *Thebans* had constantly, from the battle of *Platea* to this present time, adhered to the crown of *Persia*, and that the *Spartans* had
broke

Negotiations in Persia.

broke with them, purely because they refused to join with them against him. * From thence he took occasion to mention their success at *Leuctra*, with their invading *Laconia*; and intimated, that the late overthrow of the *Arcadians* and *Argives* was owing to their not having been assisted by them. The King was so well pleased with his person and discourse, and was so well affected to the *Thebans*, as the people on whom he could best depend, that he readily granted his demands: The substance whereof was, *That the liberty formerly granted to all the towns should be confirmed; that Messene in particular should remain free from the jurisdiction of the Spartans; that the Athenians should lay up their fleet; and that the Thebans should be looked upon as the ancient hereditary friends and allies of Persia.*

Pelopidas gained great credit by this negotiation: And the *Thebans* upon his return expecting to receive the benefit of it, caused the deputies of all the towns to be assembled at *Thebes*, in order to their ratifying the treaty. But when the oath for confirming it was tendered to them; they said, *They came to hear the articles read, not to swear to them; which they could not do without consulting their principals.* And *Lycomedes* objected, in behalf of the *Arcadians*, to the place of their meeting, which, he said, ought to be where the seat of the war was. This method not taking effect,

effect, the cities were applied to separately, in hopes by that means to awe them into a compliance. But the *Corinthians* said plainly, *They did not see any occasion there was for the treaty*; and others following their example, nothing further was done in it; so that the *Thebans* were all at once disappointed in their views; and *Artaxerxes* left them as he found them, without engaging himself any further in their behalf; which indeed he could not do at this time, without arming the rest of *Greece* against him. For his partiality to the *Thebans*, was now no less visible than the designs of the *Thebans* themselves, who had raised so much jealousy by what they had already done, that there was a general disposition to unite against them, and to make it a *common cause*. The *Athenians* were particularly disgusted by that article of the treaty, which was to restrain their power at sea; and they shewed their resentment by putting to death *Timagoras*, one of their Ambassadors, upon his return from *Persia*. He was charged with having taken part with *Pelopidas*, and not having acted in concert with his colleague: And as he was next to *Pelopidas* in favour with the King, and had received rich presents from him, it was taken for granted that he had betrayed the interests of his country.

The *Thebans* would not yet give over their designs; but finding they could not manage
the

Olymp.
103. 2.
*The The-
bans cre-
ate fresh
disturban-
ces in Pe-
loponne-
sus.*

the *Arcadians*, and the other *Peloponnesian* allies to their purpose, endeavoured to reduce them by means of their neighbours the *Achæans*, who had not yet taken any part in the quarrel. *Epaminondas* appearing as an enemy among these latter, they easily submitted to him, and entered into an engagement to act in alliance with him. By which means the *Arcadians* being distressed on one side by the *Achæans*, and on the other by the *Spartans*, made their complaints of this usage at *Thebes*; and from hence arose fresh commotions and animosities in several parts of *Peloponnesus*, but not considerable enough to be particularly related. The most remarkable effects of them were at *Sicyon*; where *Euphron*, a man of great power, took this occasion to erect a tyranny, under colour of placing the government in the people. He had a natural interest among the *Spartans*, and cultivated the same with their enemies, and managed so on all sides, by betraying and sacrificing one party to the other, and by murdering and banishing the chief of the magistrates and nobility, that he obtained his ends, and supported himself for some time, until the people were afterwards divided against him, and he was murdered at *Thebes* by a party of those whom he had banished.

*Account of
Euphron
of Sicyon.*

They who suffered most by these disturbances were the *Phlians*, who were very much exposed by their situation among the *Theban* allies.

allies. *Eupbron* not only attacked them himself, but drew the whole body of *Arcadians* and *Argives* upon them, by whom they must have been swallowed up, if they had not been timely relieved by the *Athenians* under the conduct of *Chares*. But they had first undergone a siege, and made a vigorous defence, far beyond what could have been expected from a small city, surrounded with so powerful enemies. The chief quarrel against them was their steady adherence to the *Spartans*, for whose sakes they had often been reduced to the greatest streights and necessities, and yet never could be prevailed upon, from their first engaging with them, to abandon their interests; insomuch that their honour and fidelity, in this respect, is said to be without precedent.

The *Athenians* had drawn a good deal of work upon their hands, in supporting this little state; and being dissatisfied, that none of their allies had assisted them in it, the *Arcadians* took this opportunity to propose an alliance with them. It was debated among them, whether the accepting it were consistent with their engagements to *Sparta*: But it being considered as of equal advantage to both states, that the *Arcadians* should be drawn off from the *Thebans*, the treaty was concluded; however, it was so qualified, that the *Athenians* were to assist the *Arcadians* with a body of horse, in case they were invaded, without being obliged

*A league
between
the Athe-
nians and
Arcadi-
ans.*

Lycomedes murdered.

to join in the invasion of *Laconia*. This treaty was set on foot and negociated by *Lycomedes*, who soon after, upon his return from *Athens*, was murdered by a party of exiles. He was a man of great designs, and good execution; but had engaged his countrymen in perpetual quarrels to support his own ambition, and was undoubtedly the author of all their late misfortunes.

The alliance dissolved between Athens and Corinth.

The *Athenians*, upon this new accession, acted a treacherous part against *Corinth*, which they were endeavouring to possess themselves of, even whilst they had garrisoned it with their own troops, as protectors and allies. But the *Corinthians* having notice of their design, immediately drew all the *Athenians* out of their garrisons, and discharged them. *Chares* at the same time came up with his fleet, under colour of assisting them to compose matters in the city: They thanked him for the offer of his service, but would not trust him so far as to admit him into their harbour. These proceedings dissolved the alliance between the two states, and were a kind of declaration of war on both sides. Whereupon the *Corinthians* thought it necessary to secure themselves by a peace with the *Thebans*, and requested of the *Spartans* to give their consent to it; which they readily granted not only to them, but to all such others of their confederates as desired it; but declared at the same time, that, for their

their own part, they would never lay down their arms until *Messenia* should be restored to them, in the condition they received it from their ancestors. However, the *Corinthians*, with the *Phlians* and some others, concluded a peace with the *Thebans*, upon condition, *That every one should enjoy their own.* *Artaxerxes* at the same time was sent, as a mediator, to settle once more the tranquillity of *Greece*, and prevailed so far, that all parties, and even the *Spartans* themselves were quiet for the present: And this was called putting an end to the *Laconick* or *Bæotian* war, after it had continued above five years from the battle of *Leuctra*. There is a disagreement among the historians of this time, concerning the date of some of the principal events between the battle of *Leuctra* and this peace; but all the occurrences which have been here related are generally allowed to have happened within the compass of these five years.

Olymp.
103. 3.
*A general
peace.*

This last treaty had no more than the name and appearance of a peace; which, according to the present situation of affairs, was not likely to be sincere, or of any long continuance. The growing power of *Thebes* could not but necessarily keep up the other great states in arms against her; and the lesser ones were so involved, either as accessaries in their quarrels, or as principals in their own, that the very next year fresh disturbances broke out.

Olymp.
103. 4.
*But is
broke the
next year.*

The flame was first kindled between the *Arcadians* and *Eleans*, who had long contested their right to *Tryphilia*, which belonged properly to the latter; and both sides, according to the fortune of their arms, held possession of it by turns. The *Eleans* being worsted upon this occasion, called upon the *Spartans* for assistance; and the *Arcadians* being supported by the *Athenians*, harassed the country of *Elis*, and took several towns.

Olymp.
104. 1.

*The Ele-
ans defeat
the Arca-
dians and
Argives.*

In the year following they encouraged the *Piseans*, upon some old fabulous pretence, to claim a right of presiding at the *Olympick Games*; and they accordingly took upon them to manage the solemnity. The *Eleans*, to whom this honour did undoubtedly belong, resolved not to give it up. In the midst of the exercises they fell upon the *Arcadians* with their whole strength, and with such fury and intrepidity, that they soon routed them, and then defeated a body of two thousand *Argives*; but being at length overpowered, retreated back to their city, though with great honour and applause from the people, who were convened from all parts of *Greece* to the festival, and, during this action, stood as spectators with their crowns on their heads. The behaviour of the *Eleans* upon this occasion was the more remarkable, because they had a very low reputation for arms, and had done nothing like it before. However, the *Piseans* remaining
con-

conquerors, went on with the sports: But the *Eleans* would not allow this *Olympiad* to have been duly celebrated, or to be registered in their annals.

Epaminondas, during these transactions, was wholly intent upon advancing the honour of his countrymen; and proposed to them to try for the dominion at sea, which he told them, they might easily obtain, as they were sovereigns at land: And as a proof of it, he instanced in the case of the *Spartans*, who, in the war with *Xerxes*, had but ten ships at sea, and yet had the command over the *Athenians*, who had two hundred. The people came into his proposal; and having immediately ordered preparations to be made for fitting out an hundred gallies, sent him to *Rhodes*, *Chios*, and *Byzantium*, to solicit the assistance of those places, and to fix them further in their interest: Which he easily effected, notwithstanding that the *Athenians* had sent out a strong squadron under the command of *Laches*, to oppose him. But whatever schemes of this kind they had formed, they were diverted from pursuing them, by the part they took in the quarrels among their neighbours: And the death of *Epaminondas* happening soon after, they lost the only opportunity they ever had of becoming powerful at sea.

Attempt of Epaminondas to gain the dominion at sea for the Thebans.

Whilst he was negotiating these matters abroad, some of the *Theban* fugitives joined

*A design to
change the
govern-
ment of
Thebes.*

with the *Orchomenians*, in a design to change the government of *Thebes* into an *Aristocracy*; which being discovered, three hundred *Orchomenian* horsemen, who were to have put it in execution, were seized by order of the *Theban* magistrates, and condemned to death. They then sent a sufficient force against *Orchomenus*, where the men were all put to the sword, the women and children sold for slaves, and the city razed to the ground. This was looked upon as an act of cruelty not common among the *Grecians*, and such as would not have happened, if either *Epaminondas* or *Pelopidas* had been present. They had always shewn great humanity to those who were in their power, having never spilt the blood of any man they had conquered, or deprived any city of its liberty after they had taken it.

*Pelopidas
sent a-
gainst A-
lexander
of Pheræ.*

The *Thessalians* still groaning under the tyranny and oppression of *Alexander* the *Pheræan*, took up arms against him; but being worsted in several battles, they begged assistance of the *Thebans*, who ordered seven thousand men under the command of *Pelopidas*, to their relief. But just as he was ready to march, there happened a great eclipse of the sun, from which the people, according to the ignorance and superstition of the times, apprehended such strange effects, that *Pelopidas* thought it not adviseable to proceed with so great a number of his countrymen, against the general
opinion,

opinion, that the expedition would prove fatal. As to himself, he was not at all moved at this *phenomenon*, although he was supposed to be principally affected by it: For the *Augurs* had made it portend his death, considering him as the *sun* of *Thebes*, that was to be eclipsed. However, he resolved to go on, and marched out with only three hundred horsemen, who attended him as volunteers; and having joined the *Thessalians*, he encamped in the face of the enemy, who was far superior to him in numbers, having an army of above twenty thousand men. Near a place called *Cynos-cephalæ*, there were two hills opposite to each other in the midst of the plain; and both sides endeavoured to get possession of them with their foot. *Pelopidas* at the same time ordered his cavalry to charge that of the enemy, which he soon routed, and pursued over the plain. But *Alexander* having gained the hills, and doing great execution upon the *Thessalians*, who attempted to force those ascents, *Pelopidas* was obliged to give over his pursuit, and march up to their relief; which so animated them, that, after two or three charges, the enemy began to fall into disorder, and give way; which *Pelopidas* perceiving, cast his eyes about in search of *Alexander*, and having at length discovered him in the right wing, rallying and encouraging his men, he was so inflamed at the sight, that he advanced before his soldiers,

*The battle
at Cynos-
cephalæ.*

Pelopidas
killed.

crying out, and challenging the tyrant, who retreated and sheltered himself in the ranks. *Pelopidas* thereupon grew desperate, and charged the enemy afresh, great numbers whereof, as they advanced forwards, he cut down with his own hand: But others at a distance shot through his armour, and wounded him, and then they stabbed him in the breast with their spears. The *Thessalians* seeing him in this danger, hastened down from the hills to his assistance, but came too late to save him. However, to revenge his death, they attacked the enemy so vigorously, both with their horse and foot, that they entirely routed them, and killed above three thousand in the pursuit: And yet did they not look upon it as a victory, or think that any success could compensate the loss of their General. The *Thebans*, who were then present, lamented over him in the tenderest and most affectionate manner, calling him *their Father, Saviour, and Instructor in every thing that was great and excellent*. The *Thessalians*, and other allies, not only sympathized, but vied with them in expressing their concern, and doing honour to his memory: And the whole army was so affected, that they neither put off their armour, nor unbridled their horses, nor even dressed their wounds; but ran to him, and heaped up the spoils of the enemy about his dead body; they cut off their horses manes, and their
own

own hair; and such as retired to their tents, neither kindled a fire, nor took any kind of refreshment. In all the cities through which the body passed, it was attended by the magistrates, with the priests and inhabitants, carrying trophies, crowns, and golden armour. After which the *Thessalians* begged it as a singular favour of the *Thebans*, that they might bury him; and, in the most pathetic terms, urged it as a sort of right due to them, as the greatest sufferers. *You, indeed, said they, have lost a great General; and in that we share in common with you: But we have likewise lost in him all the hopes of recovering our liberty; and under this heavy misfortune, our paying the last honours to him may be some small alleviation of our sorrow.* The *Thebans* granted their request, and they buried him with great pomp and splendor. His death, as to the manner of it, was rather to be pitied than commended: For he certainly exposed himself more than he ought to have done. But besides the natural heat of his temper, which was not easily to be restrained, he was animated with a more than ordinary zeal in the cause of liberty, especially at this juncture, when it was, in a manner, deserted by the other great states. For the *Spartans*, instead of exerting themselves, as formerly, in behalf of those who were injured, were making a servile court to *Dionysius*, the tyrant of *Sicily*, and sup-

supplying him with officers. The *Athenians* were at the same time kept in pay by this very *Alexander*; and, in honour to him, had erected his statue. This therefore *Pelopidas* thought the fairest occasion of advancing his own, and his country's honour, and of making it appear to the rest of *Greece*, that the *Thebans* were the only people who waged war to succour the distressed, and to destroy all arbitrary and unjust government: And this was the principal motive of his entering upon this expedition. But besides these considerations, he was fired with resentment against the person of *Alexander*, by whom he had been so injuriously treated, and could not forego such an opportunity of endeavouring as well to revenge himself of the tyrant as to extirpate the tyranny.

His character.

He was of one of the best families in *Thebes*, and came early to the possession of a large fortune, which he employed chiefly in the relief of such as wanted, and deserved his assistance. Among the rest, he pitched upon *Epaminondas* as a proper object of his bounty, but could never prevail with him to accept a present from him: Which had such an effect upon him, that he chose to conform himself, after his example, to a plain, frugal, and laborious way of living; and there was in his apparel, and at his table, an open unaffected simplicity, which he ever afterwards maintained in the highest posts of the government. But notwithstanding this regularity,

larity, and appearance of œconomy, his constant attention to the business of the publick made him neglect his private affairs, and very much impaired his estate; insomuch, that having a great number of children to provide for, his friends took occasion one day to tell him, *That money was a very necessary thing. It is so, indeed,* said he; *but it is for that man yonder,* pointing to one *Nicodemus*, who was lame and blind. There was a great conformity of manners between him and *Epaminondas*, except that he delighted most in the exercises of the body, and the other in those of the mind. But they had the same general disposition to virtue, and the love of their country; and this begat the strictest friendship between them. *Plutarch* dates the beginning of it from the siege of *Mantineia*, soon after the *peace of Antalcidas*. The *Thebans* acting then in alliance with *Sparta*, *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* were engaged together, and their wing giving way, they kept their ground, and stood singly in each others defence, until *Pelopidas* being very much wounded, fell among the slain. *Epaminondas* concluded him dead, yet would not leave his body in the power of the enemy, but, though he was wounded himself likewise, maintained the conflict, until at length *Agessipolis*, the *Spartan* King, came up from the other wing of the army, and rescued them both, when to all appearance they were lost. This was an action that must, in all probability, have happened before

before the town was besieged; and there is room to collect from *Pausanias* that it did so: But it is not generally taken notice of, nor any where particularly described; neither does it elsewhere appear, that either of these two Generals had distinguished themselves so early in any engagement. However, this circumstance of their lives, in the manner it is attested, may have its weight, and it is too remarkable a one to be omitted. But however their friendship began, it was very sincere and lasting; and the success of their achievements was almost entirely owing to that perfect union and good correspondence, that was always between them, without any jealousy of command abroad, or rivalry in the administration at home. This good agreement between them has been taken notice of, in opposition to that spirit of dissension, envy and rancour, which formerly reigned in *Athens* between *Aristides* and *Themistocles*, *Cimon* and *Pericles*, *Nicias* and *Alcibiades*, who, great as they were in other respects, were always endeavouring to supplant and ruin one another; and their personal enmity was said to exceed that which they bore to the enemies of their country. But yet it has been shewn, that some of them knew how to stifle their jealousies upon occasion, and to curb and moderate their resentment, when the affairs of the public required it. But there was no need of any management of this kind between
the

the two great men we are now speaking of. They had no private views of their own; they were above all considerations of money; and they had no ambition but for the public; so that provided that were well served, their intention was answered; and each of them looked upon the other's success in it as his own. As to what relates further to *Pelopidas* singly, he was very strong and active, and of indefatigable industry; he was bold and enterprising, and so successful withal, that he never lost one battle. He had so thoroughly established himself in the favour and affections of the people, that he was chose thirteen times Governor of *Bæotia*, or (as *Diodorus* says) without interruption, from the time of the recovering the *Cadmæa*. Upon the whole, he was at least the second man of *Thebes*, and, in some respects, may be considered as the first, particularly with regard to the affair of the *Cadmæa*, which was certainly the foundation of the *Theban* greatness. He would, indeed, have persuaded *Epaminondas* to bear a part with him in that undertaking; but he declined it, as an action of too much blood and outrage. He told him, *That if the rest, who were concerned in it, were as moderate as their chief, he should make no scruple of joining with them; but that some of them he foresaw would carry their passion and revenge too far, and must necessarily involve the innocent with the guilty.*

How-

However, in the main he approved the design, as the cause of liberty, and, in some measure, contributed towards the success, though he did not care to be engaged in the desperate part of it.

Alexander defeated, and reduced to terms.

Is murdered.

Account of his cruelties.

The *Thebans*, as well to revenge the death of *Pelopidas* as to improve the victory of the *Thessalians*, which they were not able to do of themselves, forthwith sent to their assistance seven thousand foot, and seven hundred horse, who soon defeated, and broke to pieces the remainder of *Alexander's* army. Whereupon he was compelled to restore the towns he had taken from the *Thessalians*, and to withdraw his garrisons out of all the other places he had unjustly seized; and he was further obliged by oath, to take part with the *Thebans* in their wars, whenever they should require it. Upon these conditions, they permitted him to return in peace to his own dominions, where he continued about seven years longer, until he was grown so insupportable to every body about him, that he was murdered in his bed by his wife and his brothers. His dead body was dragged about the streets, and trodden under foot, and left as a prey for the dogs. Nor were any indignities of this kind thought too much for him, who had been wont to bury some alive, and to dress up others in bears and boars skins, to be baited and shot at for his diversion; and who had surprised
and

and massacred the inhabitants of whole cities, which were in friendship and alliance with him. But amidst these cruelties, there is one instance recorded of him, wherein he discovered some little sparks of humanity and remorse, which yet he was far from valuing himself upon. For seeing a famous tragedian act in the *Troades* of *Euripides*, he went abruptly out of the theatre, but sent to bid the actor go on with his part; for that he did not go out of any dislike of his performance, but because he was ashamed that he, who had never shewn any concern for those he had murdered, should be seen to weep for the sufferings of *Hecuba* and *Andromache*.

But to return to the *Thebans*; they were still restless in their pursuit of power, and sought all opportunities of advancing themselves upon the weakness or divisions of the other states. They who furnished them with the most plausible pretence for stirring at this time, were the *Arcadians*, who were quarrelling among themselves about some consecrated money, which they had taken out of the temple of *Olympia* during their disputes with the *Eleans*, and applied to the payment of a select body of their troops, called the *Epariti*. The *Mantineans* protested against it as sacrilege, and brought over several of the council of ten thousand, who had at first consented to it, to retract their opinion, and to agree with them, that
it

Olymp.
104. 2.
Divisions
among the
Arca-
dians.

it was a wicked thing, which would for ever brand them with infamy, and entail a curse upon their posterity. The debating this matter was principally between the *Tegeans* and *Mantineans*; and it wrought such confusion between them and the rest of the *Arcadians*, that they thought it necessary, for the peace of the community, to make it up as well as they could, both with the *Eleans*, and among themselves. But the leading men, who had touched the money, apprehending they might be called to an account for it, thought the best way of preventing such an enquiry, would be to embroil matters still more; and therefore sent to the *Thebans* to let them know, the *Arcadians* were upon the point of revolting to the *Spartans*, if they did not speedily come in, and put a stop to it. At the same time they sent directions to a *Theban* officer in *Tegea*, to seize some of their own people, as disturbers of the peace: And accordingly great numbers were apprehended, and confined as prisoners of the state. But this occasioned such a general clamour, that they were soon after discharged; and complaint was made of it at *Thebes*, as a matter of impeachment against the officer, for intermeddling in their affairs, and attempting to interrupt the good correspondence between the two states. The more moderate among them, who saw the consequence of calling in a foreign power to decide their differences,

ferences, protested against the *Thebans* marching their troops into their territories, and did what they could to prevent it. But the *Thebans* could not be prevailed upon to let slip such an opportunity of getting once more a footing in *Peloponnesus*, which was their real design; and *Epaminondas* made no great secret of it; but he told them at the same time, by way of justification, *That the Thebans had been drawn into the war on their account; that therefore they had acted treacherously with them, in making peace with Athens without their consent; however, that when he should march his army into Peloponnesus, to assist his friends there, he should see what proofs they the Arcadians would then give of their fidelity.* This was delivered in so magisterial and menacing a stile, that they who were best affected to the *Thebans* did not like it; and the *Mantineans*, with such others as were concerned for the good of the community, and the general safety of *Peloponnesus*, concluded there was no time to be lost, in providing against the worst that could happen.

Which the Thebans take advantage of.

Accordingly, they sent to the *Athenians* and *Spartans* to apprize them of the danger, and to ask their assistance. They immediately took the alarm, and entered into a strict confederacy for their common defence. And to prevent all disputes about the command in the army, it was agreed to divide it such man-

Athens and Sparta agree to assist the Mantineans.

ner, that each state was to have it within their own territories. This was a point the *Arcadians* had very much at heart: But the *Spartans* being now so easily persuaded to give that up to them, which they had so long contested with the *Athenians*, even until they were reduced to the greatest extremity, was a plain proof how much they were terrified with the apprehensions of another descent into *Peloponnesus*.

Epaminondas in the mean time began his march with all the *Boeotians*, some *Eubœans*, and a body of *Thessalian* horse, expecting to be joined by the *Argives*, *Messenians*, and many others, upon his appearing among them. Upon his first arrival in *Peloponnesus*, he lay for some time at *Nemea*, a town in the territory of *Argos*, where he might reasonably hope to intercept the *Athenians* in their march to join their confederates; but receiving intelligence that they were to pass by sea, he removed to *Tegea*; which city, with the greatest part of *Arcadia*, immediately declared for him. The *Spartans*, with their confederates, had their general rendezvous at *Mantineia*, which they naturally imagined would be first attacked, as being the chief seat of those who had revolted from the *Thebans*.

But whilst they were securing themselves on this side, *Epaminondas* considering, that the city of *Sparta* was in a manner drained for
this

this expedition, broke up privately, and marched all night, in order to surprize it. But the design being discovered to *Agefilaus* as he was upon his march to *Mantineia*, he sent immediate notice of it to *Sparta*, with orders to put the town in a posture of defence, until he could come in to its relief; which he did with such expedition, that *Epaminondas* found him in the city ready to receive him. That which is here related of *Agefilaus* is by *Diodorus Siculus* ascribed to *Agis*, the other *Spartan* King. However that be, it is certain, that *Agefilaus* had a principal part in the defence of the city. The few forces in it were posted to the best advantage that the time and other circumstances would admit of; and the old men and boys were placed on the tops of the houses, to annoy the enemy with darts and stones. *Epaminondas*, though he found by this disposition that his design was discovered, yet made an assault at several parts of the city, but met with the most vigorous opposition. *Agefilaus* saw there was now no room for that caution or cunning, which had served him upon other occasions: Wherefore, putting all upon a desperate push, he exerted himself far beyond what could be expected from his years, and, by dint of valour, repulsed the enemy. But great part of the glory of this action was due to his son *Archidamus*, who having less than an hundred men with him, was at all the

Epaminondas endeavours to surprize Sparta.

But is again repulsed by Agefilaus

The behaviour of Archidamus,

and of
Ifadas.

dangerous passes, where the enemy pressed hardest. He passed the river in open defiance of the *Thebans*; then marched up an eminence, charged and routed those soldiers, who (as *Xenophon* expresses it) * *breathed fire*, and who so lately beat the *Spartans*, when they had the advantage both of the ground and the numbers. He who signalized himself most as a private man was *Ifadas*, the son of *Phæbidas*. He was a very beautiful, large, and well proportioned youth, scarce arrived at the age of manhood. He had just anointed himself at home, when the alarm being given, he rushed out without any arms, and almost naked; then snatching a spear in one hand, and a sword in the other, he broke into the thickest of his enemies, and bore down all before him. The *Ephori*, after the action was over, gave him a garland as the reward of his gallantry; but then, to keep up the rigour of their discipline, fined him a thousand *drachmas*, for going into the battle unarmed.

Epami-
nondas's
design
against
Mantineia.

The *Spartans* forces were now come up from *Mantineia*, and were followed by most of the confederates; so that *Epaminondas* finding nothing more to be done on that side, drew off his army, and turned towards *Mantineia*, which he judged to be now quite defenceless. For, besides that the troops were drawn out of it, the inhabitants were scattered about in the fields, having taken that opportunity, whilst the war

* αὐτὸς πνέων;

was removed into another quarter, to get in their harvest. Wherefore he resolved to attack the town; and first ordered the horse thither, who found the people dispersed in the manner they had been informed, and all things to appearance, as they expected. But it happened, that six thousand *Athenian* auxiliaries, who, coming by sea, knew nothing of what had passed at *Sparta*, and having passed the *Isthmus*, in order to join the confederates, as they supposed, in *Mantineia*, were just got into the town; and, without staying to refresh themselves, or their horses, marched out, and gave the *Thebans* battle. After an obstinate dispute, with some loss on both sides, the *Athenians* got the better, and took those who were without the walls under their protection. This action was a very sharp one, but not decisive; and is to be considered rather as a skirmish, and a prelude to what happened afterwards, than as a victory. However, it was of more immediate consequence to the *Mantineans*, who, without such a seasonable and miraculous relief, must have been lost. And *Hegelochus*, who commanded this body of *Athenians*, obtained great honour by making such a stand against the *Thebans*, who were much superior in numbers, and were also supported by the *Thessalian* horse.

*Mantineia
relieved by
the Athenians.*

Epaminondas was very much piqued at the ill success of these two last enterprises, which

he was afraid would lessen him in the opinion of his allies, and fully the glory of his former achievements; and therefore thought himself obliged to attempt something further, to support his own and his country's honour, and to keep up the spirits of those whom he had taken under his protection. And as the time allotted him for this expedition was very near expiring, he had no time to lose. Besides, he was got so far into the enemies country, and they were so well prepared for him, and watched his motions so narrowly, that he thought he could not easily secure his retreat without fighting; or that if he did, it would be abandoning and sacrificing his allies. These considerations determined him to proceed immediately to action, and, by one decisive battle, either to make himself master of *Peloponnesus*, or to fall honourably in the attempt.

A. M.

3642.

Olymp.

104. 2.

*The battle
at Mantinea.*

Accordingly, upon the *Spartans* coming to the relief of the *Mantineans*, he prepared to attack them; and this drew on a general engagement of both the armies, with their respective confederates. That of the *Thebans* consisted of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse; which was more by a third part, both of horse and foot, than the *Spartans* had, with the *Athenians*, and all the rest of their associates. The *Mantineans*, as the war was in their territories, were in the right wing, with the *Spartans* next to them; the *Athenians* in the left; and the

Achaëans,

Achæans, *Eleans*, and others of less note, made up the main body. The *Thebans*, with the *Arcadians*, chose the left of their army to oppose the right of the enemy; the *Argives* were in the right; and their main body consisted of the *Eubæans*, *Locrians*, *Sicyonians*, *Messenians*, *Thebssalians*, and others: And both the armies were flanked with their horse.

But after this disposition, *Epaminondas* took a compass, as if he declined fighting; and then made his troops halt, and lay down their arms, with a shew of encamping at a small distance from the enemy, hoping by this feint to allay their heat, and take off the first impression of their fury, and then to fall upon them by surprise; which happened in a great measure as he expected. For when he afterwards advanced towards them, they had quitted their arms and their horses, and were so dispersed about, that they had much ado to form themselves in time. However, they recovered the surprize, and stood the charge with great resolution. *Epaminondas* put the issue of the battle upon his left wing, as he did at *Leuctra*; and his scheme of breaking in upon the enemy was much after the same manner, by placing the best of his men in front, then drawing them up close, and narrowing them to a point, so as to penetrate like the beak of a galley, as *Xenophon* expresses it. The engagement began with the horse; and it was very hot and obstinate, until at length the *Athe-*
N 4 *nians*,

nians, who bore the brunt of it, were so galled with the darts and slings of the *Theffalians*, and so over-powered with the numbers of the *Thebans*, that they were forced to give way, and to leave their foot exposed; but yet they kept themselves in a body, so as not to break in upon them. And in their retreat, meeting with a detachment of the *Eubæans*, and other mercenaries, whom *Epaminondas* had sent round to attack their rear, they fell in among them, and cut them intirely to pieces. The rest of the *Athenians* in that wing were hard pressed by the *Argives*, and the *Theban* horse; but some *Elean* horse, who had been posted in the rear as a body of reserve, coming up to their relief, they maintained their ground. Their horse in the other wing made the same vigorous resistance, but were forced at last to throw themselves in among their foot for protection.

Upon this the foot joined battle, and fought with incredible fury, especially the *Spartans* and the *Thebans*, who were more immediately concerned in the event of the action, and were never more in earnest. Their lances being broke with the violence of the charge, they closed in with their swords, and stood foot to foot, neither side abating of their rage, or giving back one inch of ground. Which *Epaminondas* perceiving, formed a troop of the most determined men about him, and putting himself at the head of them, made a very vigorous charge

charge upon the *Lacedæmonian* phalanx, and wounded their general with the first javelin he threw. And his troop pushing on with the same ardour, he soon broke the enemy to pieces; and then made such havock among them, that the ground about him was covered with the bodies of the slain. But advancing still forwards, in order to make a thorough rout of it, the *Spartans* rallied, and collected themselves into a body, pointing their whole fury at him, and throwing an infinite number of darts at him, many of which he drew out of his body, and retorted at them; until at last he was mortally wounded by a javelin, which was said to be thrown by *Gryllus*, the son of *Xenophon*, who was afterwards killed himself in the same battle. But the death of *Epaminondas* is by some ascribed to *Anticrates*, a *Spartan*, who, as a reward for so eminent a piece of service, was exempted from all public offices and taxes; and *Plutarch* says, there was one of his descendants remaining in his time, who enjoyed the same immunities. The *Thebans*, upon their General's falling, renewed the attack, in order to rescue his body, and, after a very sharp resistance on the part of the *Spartans*, carried it off. This misfortune put an end to the action; and both sides parted, as it were by consent. *Xenophon* makes it entirely a drawn battle, and says, that each party erected trophies, and asked leave to bury their dead; that neither of them took any town,
nor

*Epami-
nondas
killed.*

nor gained any accession of territory, or any increase of power, and that things remained just in the same situation after the battle as they were before. But however exact and faithful he may be in the other parts of his history, he is thought upon this occasion to have been a little prejudiced, and to have industriously avoided saying too much to the advantage of the *Thebans*, who had manifestly the victory, though they were in too much concern and confusion to pursue it; and the only grounds upon which the enemy disputed it with them was on account of the *Eubæans* and others, whom the *Athenians*, in their retreat, had cut to pieces.

Epaminondas was carried alive into his tent, where, as soon as he recovered his speech, he asked his friends about him, *Whether the enemy had taken his shield from him*: They told him, *It was safe*; and it being brought to him, he kissed it. He then asked, *Which side had the victory*: They told him, *The Thebans*. *All then*, said he, *is well*. And soon after, upon the drawing the head of the javelin out of his body, he fell, as it were, in the arms of victory; and, congratulating the good fortune of his country, expired.

His character.

There was something very great and solemn in these circumstances of his death, and suitable to that just and deliberate firmness and composure of mind, which he had shewn in all the actions of his life. To consider him in all respects, as
a fol-

a soldier, statesman and philosopher, he was not only, as *Cicero* esteems him, the first man of *Greece*, but the greatest perhaps that any age or country has produced. For all the several virtues, which others possessed singly, were united in him, and in so perfect a degree, as to be without an allay of any one vice, or failing. Besides his natural good disposition, he had all the advantages of education, and was furnished with the best masters, not only for eloquence and philosophy, but also for his exercises, and all the other lighter accomplishments. Hence it was, that *Polymnis*, his father's house, was at that time one of the best schools in *Greece*, and open to all the learned world. He was, indeed, more liberal upon this head of expence than his circumstances would allow; for though he was of one of the best families in *Thebes*, he died so poor as to leave his son no other fortune than what he had bestowed on him in this manner. It happened, however, that he neither wanted, nor desired one: For he had such a thorough contempt of riches, that he did not leave enough to bury him. He was in this, as in many other respects, a philosopher in practice and reality, and was poor upon choice; and yet without any affectation, or view of being applauded for it. *Justin* says, he was no more desirous of fame than he was of riches. He did not, indeed, affect popularity, or applause; he was so modest, that all his great offices were in a manner forced upon

upon him ; and his first motive in all his undertakings was the honour of his country : But yet he had not an insensibility of glory with regard to himself, as may appear from the answer he made to his friends about him when he was dying. Among other expressions of their grief for the loss of him, they lamented his leaving no children behind him: *Yes*, said he, *I leave two fair daughters, the victories of Leuctra and Mantinea, to perpetuate my memory.* Upon another occasion, being asked, *Whether he thought himself, or Chabrias, or Iphicrates, the better General?* *It is hard*, said he, *to judge while we live.* There are other instances to prove that he knew what was due to his merit, and that he did not decline praise, though he did not covet it. He was covetous of nothing but his time, which he employed wholly in the improvement of his mind, or in what he thought might be useful to the public ; and he made even his diversions subservient to that end. His running, wrestling, and other exercises of that kind, were not used by him as they generally were by others, barely for amusement, or the glory of excelling in them, but as lessons of instruction in the art of war. For which reason he had an aversion to fat men in the army, and disbanded one, *who*, he said, *would require three or four shields to cover his belly.* He had an extraordinary genius for war, and had thoroughly studied the theory of it, before he entered upon action. It has appeared

peared from his disposition, and his manner of attacking, both at *Leuctra* and *Mantineia*, that he was particularly well skilled in the *Tactics*. That which has set him in a light above most of the *Grecian* Generals, is, the difficulties and discouragements, which he met with upon his first appearance in the world. He had to do with a people who were sunk into a state of sloth and idleness, and disposed to slavery. They were very low at that time in their reputation for arms : And though they had taken some part in the late wars, it was occasionally only, and rather in order to support themselves by their attachment to those who were best able to protect them, than with a sense of gaining honour, or asserting their freedom. They had but few troops, and those were without spirit or discipline, and without officers to conduct them. This was not the case of the great captains who went before him, especially those of *Athens* and *Sparta*, who had troops ready formed and disciplined, inured to dangers and fatigue, fired with ambition, and the love of their country, supported by their fellow-citizens, and flushed with victory : so that their commanders had nothing more to do than to pursue the track of glory they were in, and to carry on the service in the way they found it. *Epaminondas* had none of these advantages : But by his courage and zeal, and the force of his genius, he supplied the want of them ; and, in effect, created
an

an army; which being trained up by his instructions, and animated by his example, soon shewed the *Thebans* that they were capable of acting for themselves, and fighting their own battles. From hence it was, that from auxiliaries and dependents, they became principals, and put in for their turn of superiority in *Greece*. It must be allowed, that *Pelopidas* had paved the way for him in effecting this change, and that he had been assisting to him in most of his great enterprizes. But without *Epaminondas*, the work had been left very imperfect. It was his bold defiance of the *Spartans* that brought on the battle of *Leuctra*: And he afterwards went further towards the reducing them than any one man, or than all the states of *Greece* together. And though he did not thoroughly succeed in it, he had so disabled and dispirited them, that they never recovered their former reputation and authority. Among other marks of their being humbled, he had brought them to *lengthen their monosyllables*, as he himself expressed it, in rallying them upon that affected and * despotical brevity, with which they were wont to express themselves in their answers to those who offered to treat, or expostulate with them. His military virtues were still inferior to those which regarded either the society or himself. His disinterestedness was visible in every circumstance of his life:

*I do not know whether I may be allowed this expression: But it seems to be justified by the *Imperatoria Brevitas*, which *Tacitus* ascribes to *Galba*.

life: And nothing could ever shake his integrity, or slacken his zeal for the public. The *Persians* knowing of what consequence it was to fix him in their interest, sent *Diomedon* of *Cyzicus* to tempt him with a large sum of money. He first gained *Micythus*, a particular favourite of his, and gave him five talents to sound him upon it. But *Epaminondas* rejected the offer with disdain and indignation, declaring, *That he would not put the riches of the universe in competition with the good of his country.* You, *Diomedon*, said he, *do not know me; and I am not surprized, that you should form a judgment of me from yourself; for which reason I forgive you; but withal advise you to make the best of your way home, that you may not have an opportunity of corrupting others.* As for you, said he, addressing himself to *Micythus*, *if you do not immediately restore him his money, I will deliver you up to the magistracy.* His generosity and friendship have sufficiently appeared in his behaviour to *Pelopidas*. He was judicious and grave, but yet affable; he was continent, patient of injuries, and very compassionate; and, to crown all, he was strictly just, and so sincere a lover of truth, that he would not tell a lye even in jest. He was also a very able speaker, and had gone further in his search after knowledge of all kinds than most of the philosophers of his time, who were so by profession: And yet he did not value himself upon it, or make any shew of it; and it was said of him

him in this respect, *That nobody knew more than he, and spoke less.* Study was indeed his darling passion; and he was so devoted to it, that he may be considered almost as a single instance of one, who acquitted himself so well to the public against the natural bent of his inclination. It was looked upon as matter of astonishment, that a man who was so much hid from the world, and buried, as it were, in books, should break out at once into so great and so tumultuous a scene of action, that he should negotiate the interests of his country abroad, manage the government at home; and lead an army with such success against the united powers of *Greece*. But he had a capacity for every thing, and applied himself to every thing; and when he was once roused by a sense of what the public expected from him, he gave up his beloved retirement, and was from thenceforward in such continual motion, that nobody ever did so much in so short a time. When the *Thebans* were once brought into action, he resolved to keep them up to it: *If I am your General, said he, you must be soldiers.* Boeotia, as being an open, flat country, he told them, *was the stage of war; and that they could keep it no longer than they had their hands upon their shields.* It was by these maxims, and this conduct, that he became the support of his country, and a pattern to the greatest captains of the present, and succeeding times. *Philopæmen*, who is called the last of the *Grecians*, made

it

it his study to imitate him ; and is said to have come very little short of him in his valour and conduct, and his integrity. But he was more rough and cholerick, and had too much of the foldier in his common deportment ; whereas *Epaminondas* was cool and gentle, and had nothing of fierceness but in the field. Upon the whole, he raised the glory of *Thebes* to an height beyond any of her neighbours at that time, and that so suddenly, that it was said to be born with him : And it will appear by the sequel of the story how far it may be likewise said to have expired with him.

T H E
G R E C I A N
H I S T O R Y.

B O O K II.

The affairs of *Greece*, from the battle of
Mantineia to the death of *Philip* of *Macedon*.

Containing the space of 26 years.

C H A P. I.

From the battle of *Mantineia* to the end of
the Social War.

Containing the space of seven years.

THE battle of *Mantineia* was the greatest
that ever was fought by *Grecians* against
Grecians, the whole strength of the country
being drawn out, and ranged according to
their different interests. And it was fought
with

with an obstinacy equal to the importance of it, which was the fixing the empire of *Greece*. And this must of course have been transferred to the *Thebans* upon their victory, if they had not lost the fruits of it by the death of their General, who was the soul of all their counsels and designs. This blasted all their hopes, and put out their sudden blaze of power, almost as soon as it was kindled. However, they did not presently give up their pretensions; they were still ranked among the leading states, and made several further struggles; but they were faint and ineffectual, and such as were rather for life and being, than for superiority and dominion. They proposed nothing further to themselves at present than an honourable peace; and this was according to the opinion of *Epaminondas* himself, who, when he lay wounded in his tent, enquired after those whom he judged most proper to succeed him in the command; and finding they were killed in the battle, advised them to make peace; which they easily concluded; for their enemies were as weary of the war as themselves. The conditions were, *That every one should retain what they were now in possession of, and hold it independent of any other power.* Hereupon all the states of *Greece* entered into a league offensive and defensive, excepting only the *Spartans*, who refused to ratify the treaty, because the *Messenians* were included

The peace renewed by all but the Spartans.

Agefilaus
censured
for it.

in it. This opposition was raised chiefly by *Agefilaus*, who was therefore looked upon as stubborn and refractory, and an unreasonable protractor of the war, especially as he had no money to carry it on but what he was to raise by loans and heavy taxes. And his sticking with so much obstinacy at this time for the country of *Messenia*, revived in the minds of the people the great extent of territory, and the great dominion both by sea and land, that he had lost since his accession to the throne.

Olymp.
104. 3.
His trans-
actions in
Ægypt.

But whatever censure he had incurred by this proceeding, his next enterprise, which was the last scene of his life, was still more blameable, at least with regard to himself, though it did not so much affect the interest of his country. *Tachos*, who had usurped the kingdom of *Ægypt*, being at war with the *Persians*, engaged *Agefilaus* to assist him with a body of *Spartans*. Accordingly, he entered into that service, expecting to have the sole command of the army. Upon his arrival in *Ægypt*, all the great officers of the crown went to pay their compliments to him; and the whole country flocked down to the shore to see the man, whose reputation in arms had made so much noise in the world. But they were much disappointed, when, instead of the great and awful prince they looked for, they found a little old man, of a contemptible presence,

presence, lying on the grass, his cloaths threadbare, and his hair uncombed, and rejecting their rich presents of sweetmeats and perfumes, which he told them they might give to his slaves the *Helots*. He joined the *Ægyptian* army, which consisted of eighty thousand men, besides ten thousand hired troops, whereof one thousand were *Spartans*. But *Tachos* deceived him in his expectations of being General, and would allow him no other command than that of the *Mercenaries* at land, committing to *Chabrias*, who came in as a volunteer from *Athens*, the charge of his fleet, and reserving to himself the chief command over all. *Agefilas* was otherwise treated by him with so much insolence, and in a manner so much below his spirit and dignity, that he took an opportunity to fall in with *Neftanebus* his son, or rather his nephew, who had revolted from him, and got himself to be proclaimed King in his stead. And the people being generally on his side, *Agefilas* joined with them, and drove *Tachos* out of his kingdom. He had no sooner withdrawn himself, but another competitor started up, and marched against *Neftanebus* with an army of an hundred thousand men, who shut him up in one of his towns, and laid siege to it. When the works were pretty well advanced, and the lines of circumvallation drawn almost round the place, *Neftanebus* threw himself among the *Grecians*, and sally-

ing out by night at the gap where the lines were unfinished, drew up his forces, and easily routed those of the enemy, who were entangled and encompassed by their own works. This was owing entirely to the advice and conduct of *Agefilaus*, who improved this victory by several others, until he had settled *Nectanebus* in full and quiet possession of the throne. *Diodorus* relates this part differently, as if *Agefilaus* had reconciled himself to *Tachos*, and reinstated him in the kingdom. But this rests singly upon his authority; and the other account is more natural, as well as more general. *Agefilaus* acquitted himself extremely well as to the military part of this expedition; but it does not in other respects redound much to his honour. One chief motive of his undertaking it was gain; which he covered under a pretence of supplying the necessities of the state. But the letting himself out to hire to a barbarian, and serving under an *Aegyptian* rebel, as a captain only of a band of *Mercenaries*, was thought very unbecoming a *Spartan* King, especially of his age and character. He first made a mean figure by entering into that service, and then a scandalous one by deserting it, and joining with the enemy of him whom he came to as an auxiliary. He endeavoured to justify himself by several false pretences; and, according to the common plea of the *Spartans* in the like cases, called it acting
for

for the benefit of his country. But whatever name he gave it, it was certainly a foul action, and *Plutarch* calls it downright treachery. And it was more so in him, because it was purely his own act, without being tied down by any express orders from the government of *Sparta*. The winter following *Nectanebus* dismissed him, with great marks of civility and gratitude for the services he had done him, and gave him two hundred and thirty talents of silver, with which he sailed homeward, but was drove by stress of weather upon a desert shore of *Africa*, called *The Haven of Menelaus*; *His death,* where he sickened and died, being full eighty-four years old, of which he had reigned forty-one.

He was so extraordinary a man, and had *and character.* so many mixt qualities, that besides what has been already observed of him in the course of the history, it may be proper to take a more distinct view of him. He set out in the world with strong prejudices against him, both as to his person and his pretensions. The first of them he overcame by the sprightliness of his air, and his good-humour, with a way he had of jesting upon himself, which prevented others using the same freedom with him. However, he was so sensible of his defects, that he would not suffer any picture or statue to be made of him in his life-time, and utterly forbid the doing it after his death. His way

to the throne was attended with greater difficulties, which yet he got over by his spirit and address, and by the assistance of his friends, particularly of *Lysander*, who in effect put the crown upon his head. And in that respect, it was made a charge of ingratitude upon *Agefilaus*, that he had afterwards upon a slight pretence thrown him off. But he himself was the cause of it; he valued himself too much upon his services to him; and his behaviour to him in *Asia* has been shewn to be so arrogant and assuming, that it might very well justify his sending him away from him, when he found he could no longer act with him. *Lysander*, full of resentment, upon his return formed a powerful party against him; to break which, he singled out the ring-leaders, some of whom he sent away upon foreign services; others he got to be accused of avarice and injustice in their employments; and then made it his business to bring them off, thereby obliging them to become his friends; and so by degrees he wore out the faction. As he was a younger son, he was bred up with more severity and subjection than the immediate heirs of the crown; and by the obedience he paid to the laws as a private man, he was better fitted for the government when he came to it. He made great court to the *Ephori*, and the Senate, even to a shew of reverence; and by the deference he paid to
their

their power, he secretly advanced his own, and by that means carried the prerogative higher than any of his predecessors. But his popularity grew at last suspected; insomuch that he is said to have been fined by the *Ephori* for *monopolizing* the citizens, who were looked upon as the common goods of the republick. He was remarkable for his continency and moderation; and kept up the old *Spartan* plainness and frugality even to affectation, not allowing his wife and daughter to distinguish themselves by their dress, and living in the same house that belonged to *Aristodemus*, his predecessor, above seven hundred years before, nor suffering so much as the door of it to be repaired. Yet notwithstanding this rigid appearance, there was nothing of stiffness or moroseness in his behaviour. He treated every body with candour and affability, and had such a complacency and agreeableness in his conversation, as made him amiable to the last. He was very fond of his children, and would often enter into their little sports with them. Being one day surpris'd by a friend, as he was riding with them on an hobby-horse, *Say nothing of it*, said he, *until you are a father yourself*. He was generous to his enemies, not detracting any thing from their due merit, easily forgiving, and never taking any unjust advantage against them. On the other hand, he was too partial to his friends, whom, in all cases, right or wrong, he thought himself obliged to support:

support: Of which there is an instance in a letter of his to *Idrieus*, Prince of *Caria*, wherein he says, *If Nicias be innocent, acquit him; if he be guilty, acquit him upon my account; however, be sure to acquit him.* Of the same kind was his interposing in behalf of *Phæbidas* and *Sphodrias*; and yet the consequence of it was, in a great measure, the engaging *Sparta* in the *Leuctrian* war. It was a saying of his, *That to be strait-laced in point of justice, when one's friend is concerned, is only a pretence for deserting him.* Yet nobody talked more of justice upon other occasions than he did; infomuch that some about him expatiating one day upon the grandeur of the King of *Persia*, *Wherein*, said *Agésilas*, *does his grandeur consist? Or how is he greater than I am, if he be not more just?* By which he would have it understood, that justice was the rule of all his actions. But he has not given many instances of it, especially in his public character; wherein he was so different from what he was in his private life, that he may be considered as two different persons. His failings in the latter were few, and, generally speaking, good-natured ones; but in his regal and military capacity, his passions were much stronger, and his faults more unpardonable. The same aspiring temper which he discovered from his childhood, and by which he afterwards usurped the crown, carried him on to the last stage of his life, and bore down all other considerations that

that stood in the way of his ambition. And yet he managed so well, that he passed the first thirty years of his reign in great honour and esteem: But as he advanced further in years he grew more perverse and arbitrary, and withal more restless and impatient, continually forming new schemes of action, and never easy but in war; and indeed he had admirable talents for it. He was brave, active, and vigilant; he had inured himself to the extremes of heat and cold, and fared as hard in other respects as a private centinel. He was very careful to keep up the courage of his soldiers; for which purpose he would conceal or lessen the news of a defeat in other parts, or sometimes substitute the report of a victory in the room of it. He had a more refined way of deceiving his enemies, by publishing his real design of a march or an attack, so that they might take it for a feint, and consequently be unprepared for him. Nobody knew better how to use the advantages of time and place, or to effect by stratagem what he could not obtain by force. And notwithstanding his natural impetuosity, he could command himself upon occasion, and was either cool and temperate, or daring and desperate, according as the case required; of which he gave sufficient proofs in his defence of the city of *Sparta*. His behaviour upon that occasion, when the whole was at stake, was great and glorious; though it must be allowed at the same time, that he did
nothing

nothing more than what he owed to his country, whose interests he had sacrificed to his implacable hatred of the *Thebans* and *Messenians*, and his insatiable thirst of revenge. The *Spartans* were so sensible of his abilities, that when he was in *Asia* they constituted him Admiral as well as General, which was an honour they had never before conferred on one single person. His power after that expedition increasing in proportion to the opinion they had of him, he did what he would with them, and brought them into such a condition, that they were forced to rely upon him, and to stand or fall with him. And though he saved them from immediate destruction, he had sufficiently drained and harassed them, and left them in a miserable declining state. *Lysander* gave the first shock to their power by his pride, and *Agésilas* quite broke it by his obstinacy; the first made them odious to their neighbours, and the latter made them contemptible. And upon the whole, it may be said, that *Sparta* owed her downfall to the two greatest men she ever bred.

The indolent state of Greece

The death of *Epaminondas*, and the peace which ensued upon it, had slackened the zeal of the principal powers of *Greece*, and rendered them too secure. The *Athenians* more particularly, when they found themselves delivered from him who kept up their emulation, grew indolent and remiss, and abandoned themselves to their ease and pleasure, being wholly taken up with
shews,

shows, sports and festivals. They were naturally too much addicted to these sorts of amusement, and they had formerly been encouraged in them by *Pericles*, who knew how to lead them by their inclinations, and took this method to ingratiate himself with them, and to divert them from inspecting too narrowly into his administration. But they now carried these diversions to a much higher pitch of extravagance. They had such a passion for the stage, that it stifled in them all other thoughts, either of business, or of glory. Poets and players were become their only favourites, and received the esteem and applause that was due to the captains who had fought their battles. The very victualling of their fleets and armies was consumed upon the stage. Their singers and dancers were pampered up with marrow and other luscious food, whilst the Admiral and the captains of the ships had no other provisions on board, but meal, cheese, and onions. In short, the decorations, and other charges attending the theatre, were so excessive, that *Plutarch* says, *It cost more to represent some of the famous pieces of Sophocles and Euripides, than it had done to carry on the war against the barbarians.* And in order to support this charge, they seized upon the fund which had been set apart for the war, with a prohibition, upon pain of death, even to advise the applying it to any other purpose. They not only reversed this decree, but went as far
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the other way, making it death to propose the restoring the fund to the uses to which it had before been appropriated, under the same penalties. By diverting the course of the supplies in so extraordinary a manner, and entertaining the idle citizen at the expence of the soldier and mariner, they seemed to have no remains of that spirit and vigour, which they had exerted in the *Persian* wars, when they demolished their houses to furnish out a navy, and when the women stoned a man to death, who proposed to appease the *Great King*, (as he was called) by paying tribute, and doing homage to him.

*Which the
Macedo-
nians take
advantage
of.*

But whilst they were wrapt up in this slothful security, and had nothing immediately to apprehend from their old enemies, either in *Greece* or *Persia*, they found themselves on a sudden engaged with a people, who were hitherto obscure, and in a manner barbarous. These were the *Macedonians*; who, though they were hardy, and warlike enough, had never yet presumed to intermeddle in the affairs of *Greece*. The truth is, they had enough to do at home, to adjust the quarrels about the succession of their Kings, and to defend themselves against the *Illyrians*, *Pæonians*, and other powerful neighbours. But several circumstances concurred at this time to raise them out of their obscurity, and to bring them into a new scene of action; which by degrees wrought such a thorough a change in the state of
Greece,

Greece, that it will be necessary to take a cursory view of their affairs, and to consider them connectedly with those of the *Grecians*, at least so far as may serve to shew by what steps this change was effected.

They may also upon another account seem to require a place in the *Grecian* story; for their first Kings were of *Grecian* extraction. But they are not so much entitled to it from their descent as from their exploits, by which the very name of *Greece* was in a great measure lost, and swallowed up in that of *Macedonia*. Before their later achievements, which brought about this great revolution, they were no otherwise considered as a part of *Greece*, than many other borderers, who were originally planted from thence, but having afterwards little or no intercourse with their mother-country, contracted the habits and manners of the natives where they settled, and from thence were looked upon as one and the same people with them, and in the same degree of barbarism. This was the case of most of the *Grecian* colonies: And therefore, though I have had frequent occasion to mention them, I have not entered further into their story than as it has born relation to *Greece*, either on account of their wars or alliances with it, or of their being protected by it, or becoming tributary to it, or of such other engagements and dependencies as have blended their affairs with those of the *Grecians*, and made the relation of them a necessary
part

*How far
they may be
considered
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ans.*

part of their history. Thus much may suffice to account for my not having treated the most remarkable of these colonies so fully and distinctly as might be expected from the figure they have made in the world; such as *Sicily*, *Crete*, and some others of the islands, with the *Lesser Asia*, and several other parts of the continent. But it ought to be considered, that where their fame and grandeur has been owing more to their transactions with other people than with the *Grecians*, most of the particulars concerning them do not fall within the compass of my design, but belong more properly to a separate history of their own, or to that of the nation which they have had most to do with.

Their original.

The *Macedonians* were so called before the *Grecians* intermixed with them: And they were some time known by other names, which they received from the first planters, or principal men either of the whole country, or of some particular parts of it. But the accounts we have of these original founders, like those of the *Grecian* states, are very fabulous and imperfect. The first who is mentioned, with any degree of certainty, to have reigned in *Macedonia*, was *Caranus*, by birth an *Argive*, and said to be the sixteenth in descent from *Hercules*. It was upon this foundation that *Philip* grounded his pretensions to be of the race of *Hercules*, and assumed to himself divine honours; wherein he carried his vanity a great way, though not so far as his son did after him.

Caranus

*Their first
Kings.*

Caranus therefore is commonly reputed to have led forth a body of his countrymen, by the advice of the oracle, into these parts, where he settled, and made himself King. And yet *Herodotus*, contrary to the opinion of all the later writers, makes *Perdiccas* the first King. Sir *Isaac Newton* reconciles this difference by a very probable conjecture, that they were joint-founders of this kingdom; that they were both contemporary, and of the royal family of *Argos*, from whence they fled about the same time, and at first erected small principalities in *Macedonia*, which, after the death of *Caranus*, became one under *Perdiccas*: And that this kingdom was founded about the 46th or 47th *Olympiad*. From this time the *Macedonians* were properly a *Grecian* colony; and, among other proofs of their being so, it is observable, that *Amyntas*, which was the name of some of their succeeding Kings, was also a common name among the *Argives*. Another of their Kings was, by virtue of their *Grecian* extraction, admitted to the *Olympick* games. But whatever rights and privileges this nation claimed as *Grecians*, they were generally treated as *Barbarians*, until such time as they carried their arms into *Asia*, and had trampled upon the liberties of *Greece*. *Caranus* having, according to the general account, reigned twenty-eight years, the succession was continued after him to the times we are now treating of. But there is very little worth notice recorded of these Kings,

they being chiefly employed in defending themselves against the incursions of their neighbours : And as to their domestick affairs, they were remarkable only for the frequent murders and usurpations which happened in the royal family.

Amyntas,
father of
Philip.

Amyntas the second, who was the sixteenth in descent from *Caranus*, and the father of that *Philip* whom we are now to treat of, had much ado to support himself in the throne; he left it in a very tottering condition, and entailed a war with the *Illyrians* and *Olynthians* upon his children. By his wife *Eurydice* he left three sons, who all in their turn succeeded to their father, *Alexander*, *Perdiccas*, and *Philip*; he had also a natural son, called *Ptolomy Alorites*. Some say he had a second wife, called *Gygæa*, and by her had three more sons, *Archelaus*, *Argæus*, or *Archideus*, and *Menelaus*, who were murdered by *Philip*. But this does not seem probable, because *Eurydice* appears to have survived *Amyntas*, and to have been very active in the succeeding reigns. The succession of *Alexander* and *Perdiccas* was strongly opposed; first by *Pausanias*, whose father and himself had before usurped the crown, and then by their brother *Ptolemy*, who is said to have murdered *Alexander*, and to have reigned three years upon his death, until he was afterwards slain himself by *Perdiccas*. *Pausanias* was drove out by *Iphicrates*, who at this time happened to be sent by the *Athenians* with a small

fleet

fleet into those parts, to make the necessary dispositions for the siege of *Amphipolis*. *Eurydice*, upon this occasion, accosted him in a very moving manner: She brought her two sons, *Perdiccas* and *Philip*, to him, and putting one of them between his arms, and the other upon his knee, conjured him, by the mutual friendship that had passed between the two nations, and by the personal kindness and affection that her husband had borne to him, that he would take these two orphans into his protection, and defend them against the invader. But this account of her maternal affection is by no means consistent with that which *Justin* gives of her, That being in love with her son-in-law, who is understood to be *Ptolemy*, she caused her own two sons, *Alexander* and *Perdiccas*, to be murdered, in order to advance him to the throne; and that she had before attempted to destroy her husband with the same view. But the history of these two Kings, *Alexander* and *Perdiccas*, is so confused, that not only the transactions of one reign seem to be ascribed to another, but the transactions themselves are also differently related. As to *Ptolemy*, the most plausible account given of him is, that upon his competition with *Perdiccas*, they referred themselves to *Pelopidas*, who adjudging the crown to the latter, the other quitted his pretensions: And *Pelopidas*, for the better observance of this agreement, carried *Philip* with him, among others, as hostage to *Thebes*.

There are other occasions mentioned of his being given as an hostage of the *Illyrians*, both by his father and his brother *Alexander*. However that be, it is certain he was at *Thebes* at the time of the death of his brother *Perdiccas*, who, according to the most general accounts, was killed in a battle with the *Illyrians*.

*The rise of
Philip.*

This accident brought him home, and gave him an opportunity of exerting those talents by which he not only surpassed all his predecessors, but eclipsed the fame of all the *Grecians* of his time; though it must be confessed, that he received his first impressions of glory from them, and that he owed a great deal to the improvements he made under *Epaminondas*. But besides these advantages, he had great natural endowments, and a genius equal to the greatest designs; as may sufficiently appear from the difficulties he had to encounter at his first setting out, when he was scarce three-and-twenty years old, and the means he used to overcome them. *Perdiccas* had left a young son to succeed him; so that *Philip* had no immediate prospect of coming to the crown. However, upon the news of his brother's death, he stole home privately from *Thebes*, and taking advantage of the consternation the people were under, and the dangers they apprehended from an infant-reign, got himself at first declared protector to his nephew, and soon after King in his stead. And indeed the present condition of the *Macedonians* required

a man

A. M.
3645.
Olymp.
105. 1.
*He is de-
clared king*

a man of his prudence and activity: For they were furrounded with as many enemies as they had neighbours. The *Illyrians*, flushed with their late victory, were preparing to march against them with a strong army; the *Pæonians* were making daily incursions upon them; and at the same time the title to the crown was contested by *Pausanias* and *Argæus*; the former whereof was supported by the *Thracians*, and the latter by the *Athenians*, who for that purpose had sent out a good fleet, and three thousand land men.

Under these circumstances, with so many enemies on his hands at once, and that before he was settled in the throne, his first part was to make sure of his own people, to gain their affections, and to raise their spirits; for they were very much disheartened, having lost above four thousand men in the late action with the *Illyrians*. He succeeded in these points by the artfulness of his address, and the force of his eloquence, of which he was a great master. His next step was to train and exercise them, and reform their discipline; and it was at this time that he instituted the famous *Macedonian Phalanx*, which did so much execution. It was an improvement upon the ancient manner of fighting among the *Grecians*, who generally drew up their foot so close as to stand the shock of the enemy without being broken. The complete phalanx was thought to contain above sixteen

He institutes the Macedonian Phalanx.

thousand men; tho' it was also taken in general for any company, or party of soldiers, and frequently for the whole body of the foot. But this of *Philip's* invention, is described by *Polybius* to be a long square, consisting of eight thousand pikemen, sixteen deep, and five hundred in front, the men standing so close together that the pikes of the fifth rank were extended three foot beyond the line of the front. The rest, whose distance from the front made their pikes useless, rested them upon the shoulders of those who stood before them, and so locking them together in file, pressed forwards to support and push on the former ranks, whereby the assault was rendered more violent and irresistible.

Xenophon, his death and character.

In this year died *Xenophon*, and in the ninetyeth year of his age. Notwithstanding the glory he had acquired by his *Persian* expedition, he was banished *Athens* for having been engaged in it: For *Cyrus* having been too great a favourer of the *Spartans*, the *Athenians* did not think he ought to receive any countenance or assistance from them in the quarrel with his brother *Artaxerxes*. Thereupon *Xenophon* chose to return again into *Persia*, where he joined *Agésilas*; and there they contracted a strict friendship, which continued as long as they lived. Upon which of these two expeditions it was, that the sentence of banishment was passed against him, is not determined: But he had by both of them incurred the displeasure of his fellow-citizens,

citizens, who looked upon him as not being well affected to the interest of his country. He has not by his actions given any marks of his enmity against it: But it is certain, that he was a great admirer of the *Spartan* manners and constitution, and had a very indifferent opinion of the *Athenian Democracy*. Upon his second return into *Greece*, he resided at *Scillonte*, a town in the *Elean* territory, but at that time under the dominion of *Sparta*. But upon the invasion of *Laconia* by *Epaminondas*, he quitted that neighbourhood, and retired to *Corinth*, where he spent the remainder of his days. It is to the leisure he enjoyed in these places of retreat that we owe most of his historical and other writings; by which he appears to have possessed more different talents, and to have been more thoroughly accomplished, than any man of his time, not only as a captain, philosopher, orator, and historian, but being likewise well skilled in politicks, in horsemanship and hunting, in tillage and planting. He had also the advantage of a very beautiful person, with a pleasing aspect, which bespoke that candour and simplicity for which he was so remarkable, both in his manners and his writings.

His character as an historian having already been described in the account I have given of the authors from whom this history is collected, I will here only add an observation, that he was the first philosopher in *Greece*, who wrote an

history. And to this it may be ascribed, that he has expressed nature better than most other historians of his time: His conceptions were clear, and that made his diction so. This regular way of thinking, and digesting his matter, he learnt of *Socrates*, under whom he studied. Nothing is more to be admired in him than the affection he bore to his master. And in this part *Plato* agreed with him; but there was otherwise no good understanding between them; which is the more extraordinary, because they were both equally of a mild and amiable disposition, and had no enemies but such as their virtue had created them. The cause assigned by *Diogenes Laertius* for their disagreement, was a rivalry in their writings; and in support of this opinion, it is said, that *Xenophon* wrote his *Cyripædia*, as the picture of a just monarchy, in opposition to that which *Plato* had drawn of a perfect common-wealth. It is a question among the learned, how far this piece of *Xenophon* will bear being examined according to the strict rules of history; and whether it ought not rather to be looked upon only as a more modest and instructive species of romance. There is likewise great allowance to be made for his character of *Agésilas*, which is too much in the stile of panegyrick. But his close intimacy with that prince had made him partial to his failings. He extols his personal bravery, and his other private virtues, and very justly: But
he

he does not consider him enough in his public capacity, as one, who, upon the merit of his services, had got more power into his hands than was usually allowed to the *Spartan* Kings; and, by his rashness and obstinacy, had made an ill use of it, almost to the destruction of his country.

When *Philip* had made some proper regulation of his affairs at home, he began to look abroad, in order to divert the storms which threatened him from all quarters. By money and promises he made up matters, for the present, with such of his enemies as lay nearest to him, and then turned his forces against the *Athenians*, who were marched up to *Metbone*, to assist *Argæus*. He gave them battle, and defeated them; and the death of *Argæus*, who was killed in the action, put an end to that dispute: For he permitted the *Athenians*, when they were in his power, to return home. This instance of his moderation gained so far upon them, that they soon after concluded a peace with him; which yet he observed no longer than it served his design of securing the other part of his dominions.

Philip defeats the Athenians.

Accordingly he marched northward, where he broke with the *Pæonians*, and subdued them; then fell upon the *Illyrians*, and having killed above seven thousand of them in a pitched battle, obliged them to restore all their conquests in *Macedonia*. He had also shut up the passage of
the

Olymp. 105. 2. Subdues the Pæonians, and the Illyrians.

Seizes
Amphi-
polis.

the *Thracians*; but yet did not think it sufficiently secured, without making himself master of *Amphipolis*, which was very commodiously situated on the river *Strymon*, and was the *Key* of that side of his dominions. He knew the importance of it, and therefore possessed himself of it in the beginning of his reign. This was the grounds of his quarrel with the *Athenians*, who claimed it as one of their colonies, and made such a point of it, that their setting up *Argæus* against him, was not so much for his own sake, or for the credit of imposing a King upon the *Macedonians*, as it was with a view to get the city restored to them by his means, in case he should have succeeded in his pretensions. *Philip* was sensible of their drift; and finding it necessary at that time to keep some measures with them, would neither keep the place himself, nor let them have it, but took a middle course, and declared it a free city, thereby leaving the inhabitants to throw off their dependence on their old masters, and making it appear to be their own act. But the city continued no longer in this state than until he found himself at liberty to make a more thorough conquest of it; which at this time he easily effected, through the remissness of the *Athenians*, who refused to send any relief to it, alleging in their excuse, that it would be a breach of the peace, which they had concluded with *Philip* the year before. But the truth is, he tricked them out of it, by a promise

Olymp.
105. 3.

mise of delivering it up to them : But instead of keeping his word with them, he made further encroachments, by seizing on *Pydna* and *Potidæa* : the latter of which being garrisoned by *Athenians*, he drew them out, and sent them home ; but dismissed them with such marks of civility, as shewed that he avoided coming to an open rupture with that state, at least until his designs were more ripe for it, though at the same time he did what he could to weaken them, and drive them out of his neighbourhood. *Pydna*, with the territory belonging to it, he gave up to the *Olynthians*, who were his father's inveterate enemies. His hands were too full at this time to revive the quarrel against so rich and powerful a city, which, for three years together, had withstood the united forces of *Sparta* and *Macedonia* ; he therefore chose to buy their friendship for the present, and to amuse them by the delivery of this town, as he had done the *Athenians* by the peace, until he could attack them at more advantage. In this step also he over-reached the *Athenians*, who were at the same time courting the alliance of the *Olynthians*, in order to maintain their footing in those parts. Which side soever the *Olynthians* inclined to, they were strong enough to turn the balance ; and therefore the gaining them became a matter of great contention between *Philip* and the *Athenians*.

The next place he took was *Crenidæ*, which he enlarged, and called, after his own name, *Philippi*,

*Pydna and
Potidæa,*

*and Cre-
nidæ,
which he
called Phi-
lippi.*

Philippi, and which afterwards was famous for the defeat of *Brutus* and *Cassius*. There were near this town some gold mines, which he worked, and drew out of them an immense treasure. The yearly produce of them amounted to a thousand talents; which was reckoned at that time considerably more than the revenue of *Athens*; and yet that was thought the richest state in *Greece*. This was a very lucky discovery for one who knew the value and use of money so well as he did. He was by this means enabled to keep up a good body of mercenary troops at home, with a great number of spies and pensioners abroad; and it was to this fund that he owed a great part of the successes of his reign.

*Factions
in Eubæa
composed
by the A-
thenians.*

Philip, in this progress of his affairs, met with little opposition from the *Athenians*, who had enough to do to support their jurisdiction in other parts. *Eubæa* being at this time divided into factions, one party had recourse to them, and the other to the *Thebans*, who by this means got footing in the island. But the *Athenians* thought it of too great importance to them to be given up: For, besides other advantages, they had formerly drawn a large revenue from it. However, they did not exert themselves so vigorously as the case required, until they were spirited up by *Timotheus*. *What*, said he, *the Thebans in Eubæa, and you still here! They are in action, and you are deli-*

deliberating. You have not spread the seas with your shipping; you are not running down to the Piræus; you are not under sail. This manner of haranguing had the effect he proposed: In five days time they made the necessary preparations, and put to sea; forced the *Thebans* off the island; composed the differences of the inhabitants, and brought them again under their dependence. *Demosthenes* takes particular notice of this speech of *Timotheus*, and quotes this part of it, as an incentive to the *Athenians* upon a like occasion, when *Philip* was over-running their dominions in *Thrace*.

The *Athenians* had no sooner put an end to these disturbances, but *Byzantium*, with the islands of *Chios*, *Cos*, and *Rhodes*, revolted, and confederated against them, and from thence gave rise to that which was called *the war of the allies*, or *the social war*. They forthwith sent out *Chares* and *Chabrias*, with men and shipping to reduce them. Their first attempt was upon *Chios*; where *Chabrias*, who commanded at sea, forced his entrance into the harbour; but being deserted by the rest of the fleet, which put back to sea, he was immediately surrounded by the enemy, who beat upon him on all sides until his ship was quite disabled, and pierced through with the enemies beaks. Whereupon the men on board leaped into the sea to save themselves by swimming: But he not thinking it

The social war.

Attempt upon Chios.

Chabrias
killed:

His cha-
racter:

it consistent with his honour and the duty of his post, to quit his ship, stood obstinately in the defence of it, until he was mortally wounded. *Nepos* says, contrary to the general account of this expedition, that he served in it only as a private man; which, if it were so, would be the best excuse that could be made for his conduct in it: For, considering him as a commander, it was certainly too unconcerted, and too rash and desperate an enterprise to be justified. But it was agreeable to a maxim of his own, *That an army of stags led by a lion, was more formidable than an army of lions led by a stag.* He had another maxim, which shewed more prudence and circumspection, *That he was the best commander, who knew best what his enemies were doing.* However, the spirit he shewed upon this occasion, with the many other instances of his bravery and zeal for the service of his country, may be sufficient to rank him with the patriots of the best ages of *Greece*.

Olymp.
105. 4.

Chares, with the land-forces, had made some slight attacks upon the island; but upon the death of his colleague he drew them off, and put an end to the campaign. But the next year great preparations were made on both sides for prosecuting the war with vigour. And the allies having got together a fleet of an hundred sail, harassed and plundered several of the islands under the dominion of
Athens,

Athens, and then besieged *Samos*. The *Athenians* sent out *Chares* again with sixty gallies, and then reinforced them with sixty more under the command of *Iphicrates* and *Timotheus*, who were joined in commission with him. They united their forces, and agreed to besiege *Byzantium*; which drew the allies from *Samos* to relieve it. Hereupon the two fleets met in the *Hellespont*: But just as they were ready to engage there happened a violent storm, notwithstanding which, *Chares* proposed to proceed and join battle, but could not prevail with his colleagues to come into it; whereupon he wrote to *Athens* to accuse them of treachery; and they were recalled, and ordered to answer it to the state.

Samos besieged by the allies.

Chares accuses his colleagues of treachery,

Chares was now at liberty to act without control; but instead of pursuing his designs against the islanders, he went over to *Artabazus*, the *Persian* governor of some of the provinces of *Asia minor*, who had revolted from his master, and was reduced almost to the last extremity, by an army of seventy thousand men, which was sent out against him. *Chares*, upon a promise of being well rewarded, engaged to assist him; and having accordingly joined their forces, they defeated the *Persians*. But the King was so incensed at it, that he threatened to fit out a fleet of three hundred sail to support the islanders in their war with the *Athenians*; which so intimidated them, that they clapt

and goes into foreign service.

Olymp.
106. 1.
*A peace
with the
allies.*

clapt up a peace with the allies upon their own terms ; which were, *That for the future they should remain free and independent.* This put an end to the *social war*, which had continued three years, though with very little action on either side, at least not suitable to the preparations that were made for it.

Chares ac-
cused, but
acquitted.

The news of this expedition of *Chares* was at first very well received by the government, of *Athens*, in regard the troops which were employed in it, were paid by *Artavazus* ; and that indeed was the only pretence that could be made for undertaking it: But when they found in what manner the *Persian King* resented it, they made it a charge of treason against *Chares* for having exceeded his commission, and deserted the service of his country. However, he found means to secure a party among the people, who brought him off.

Iphicrates
and Ti-
motheus
tried.

Iphicrates and *Timotheus* were more hardly dealt with, and for that which had much less the appearance of a crime, in refusing to join with him in rushing headlong upon the enemy in a storm, and combating the elements. But this matter was so aggravated by *Chares*, that they underwent a formal trial for it, and, besides the revoking their commissions, had an heavy fine imposed on them. This is the account *Diodorus Siculus* gives of it: But the fact is by others related differently,
and

and with more remarkable circumstances; that *Timotheus* was fined an hundred talents; which being unable to pay, he withdrew himself to *Chalcis*, where he died. The people soon after repenting of their usage of him, (as it was generally the case with them, when it was too late) remitted nine parts of the fine, but exacted the other ten talents of his son *Conon*, towards the repair of their walls. It was an odd circumstance, and a reproach to *Athens*, that those walls which had been rebuilt by *Conon* the grandfather, out of the spoils he had taken from the enemy, should now be repaired by a fine unjustly raised upon *Conon* the grandson.

Timotheus fined.

Iphicrates apprehending the same fate with *Timotheus*, had introduced a number of young men into the court, armed with daggers, which they every now and then, in the course of the trial, took care to expose to the view of his judges, in order to intimidate them. This menace had the effect he proposed, and accordingly he was acquitted. Being afterwards reproached with so violent a proceeding, he said, *It would have been a madness in him, if, after having succeeded in war for his fellow-citizens, he should not have endeavoured to do the same for himself.* And certainly, whatever insult it was upon the public justice, it was owing to the people themselves, who, by their capricious, jealous, and ungrateful beha-

Iphicrates acquitted.

viour towards their generals, had forced them to these extremities. For whatever their conduct were, they never knew when they were safe. They were no longer regarded than they were wanted; and when their service was over, it was approved or censured, according as the faction for or against them prevailed: In short, they lay at the mercy of every little designing *Demagogue*, who had art enough to inflame the multitude. Under these discouragements, it is not to be wondered at, that many of them engaged themselves in foreign service, or went into a voluntary exile; insomuch that there were scarce any left to command at home. This is to be looked upon as one principal cause of the decay of the power of *Athens*, which began now too visibly to appear. *Nepos* seems to fix it to this period of time, and observes, that *Chabrias*, *Iphicrates*, and *Timotheus*, were the last of the *Athenian* captains. However, it must be confessed, there were several considerable men after them, who occasionally signalized themselves in the defence, or other necessary service of their country: But it is certain, there was not any number, or regular succession of such as were able to keep up the ancient spirit and discipline of the troops, or the grandeur of the commonwealth.

As to *Iphicrates*, whether, after his trial, he declined the service, or was laid aside by the state,

state, we hear no more of his being employed either at home or abroad; and yet he is said to have lived to a good old age. However, *Diodorus* says, he was dead when the great battle of *Cheronæa* was fought in the hundred and tenth *Olympiad*, but without mentioning the time and circumstances of his death; and therefore we may reasonably suppose, that he spent the remainder of his days in some obscure retirement. But whatever became of him, he was at this time a great loss to the publick. He had served on many occasions, and generally with success; which was chiefly owing to his skill and prudence; and his service had been very useful and seasonable. He was not so much noted for the fame of his exploits, as for his art and improvements in the military discipline, wherein he was very exact, and withal severe. He was always upon his guard, and left as little room for accidents as possible. To this purpose, when one asked him, why he fortified his camp, which he had pitched in a country belonging to his confederates, he replied, *The worst speech a General can make, is, I did not think.* His men were so perfect in their exercise, and so obedient to command, that when the word was given to engage, they knew their business, and did it of themselves, as if every private man had been directed by the ablest officer. This was particularly experienced in the war

*Character
of Iphi-
crates.*

at *Corinth*, where he put a stop to the progress of *Agésilas*, who would otherwise have over-run the states, which were then in alliance with *Athens*. The men who served under him were known by the name of the *Iphicratenſian Troops*, and were in the ſame degree of eſteem in *Greece*, as the *Fabian* ſoldiers were in *Rome*. He compared the ſeveral parts of an army to thoſe of an human body, making the light-armed infantry answer to the hands, the cavalry to the feet, the main body to the breaſt, and the General to the head. He changed the faſhion of the arms and accoutrements then in uſe, contriving them chiefly for eaſe and expedition, and after ſuch a manner, as ſhould moſt effectually answer the ends either of annoying, or guarding againſt the enemy. But notwithſtanding theſe proofs of his diligence and application, he is ſaid to have been naturally indolent and impatient; which does not ſeem very conſiſtent with the character of a man who had worked his way into the world, and raiſed himſelf from nothing: For he was of a very mean extraction; ſome ſay, a ſhoe-maker's ſon; and yet he carried it off with a good air, when being reproached with it by one of his adverſaries who was deſcended from *Harmodius*, *It is true*, ſaid he, *The luſtre of my family begins in me, and that of yours ends in you*. The firſt thing that brought him into
repute,

repute, was, that in an action wherein he was wounded, he caught up one of his enemies, and carried him alive, and in his armour, to his own ship. Besides the advancement he made by his personal merit, he had the good fortune to obtain in marriage a daughter of *Cotys*, King of *Thrace*, by whom he had a son called *Menestheus*; who yet seemed to value himself more upon being the son of an *Athenian* captain than of a *Thracian* princess: For being asked, *To which of his parents he thought he owed the greatest obligation*; he answered, *To my mother*; for that my father did what he could to make me a *Thracian*, but my mother's part was to make me an *Athenian*. *Iphicrates*, in addition to his warlike talents, had the reputation of a good speaker: But *Plutarch* blames him for going out of his province; and says, he made himself ridiculous by getting company to his house to declaim to them. He likewise mentions an instance of his being quite overpowered by the eloquence of his antagonist: But *Iphicrates* would not give it up; *My adversaries*, said he, *have the better actor, but mine is the better play*.

Timotheus, in a war against this *Cotys*, obtained great booty to the value of twelve hundred talents, which he delivered into the public treasury, without reserving any part of it to himself. This was afterwards remembered to the shame of his accusers, when he

*Character
of Timotheus.*

was fined an hundred talents, and forced to fly his country, because he was not able to pay it. He was the more sensibly affected with this misfortune, because he had hardly known before what it was to suffer any. He had generally succeeded in every thing he took in hand; insomuch, that some who envied him on that score painted him asleep, with Fortune by his side, and casting nets over cities. He did not understand raillery upon this head, but insisted seriously, that Fortune had no share with him in his victories, but that they were owing entirely to his merit. *Hereupon*, says Plutarch, *the goddess grew angry and forsook him*; and adds, *that from thenceforward nothing prospered with him*. However, in the main he was so successful, that it is said, the *Athenians* owed to him the recovery of their dominion at sea. He certainly contributed greatly towards it; but his father *Conon* had laid the foundation of it by the engagement at *Cnidus*; after which there were other circumstances concurred to the breaking the power of the *Spartans*; and it has been shewn in what manner the *Athenians* took advantage of the necessity of their affairs, even when they were in alliance with them against their common enemies. Besides the military virtues of *Timotheus*, wherein he was equal to his father, he was better skilled in the civil part of the administration. He had, by his parts and industry, attained
to

to a good degree of knowledge of all kinds, and excelled particularly in the art of speaking.

In this first year of the 106th *Olympiad*, *Alexander the Great* was born. On the same day that *Philip* received the news of it, he had an account of a great victory obtained by *Parmenio*, his General, against the *Illyrians*, and likewise of his having gained the prize in the *Olympick* games. Upon the birth of his son, he wrote a letter to *Aristotle* the philosopher, to acquaint him with it, and to recommend to him the care of his education, which he did with the highest compliment that could be made. *I return thanks to the gods, said he, not so much for having given me a son, as for having given him me in the age in which Aristotle lives.*

C H A P. II.

From the end of the *Social War* to the end of the *Phocian War*.

Containing the space of 10 years.

THE *Social War* was no sooner ended but another war broke out of a longer continuance, and of much greater consequence. This was called The *Phocian*, or *Sacred War*, as

Q 4

being

Olymp.
106. 2.
The
grounds of
the Phoci-
an war.

being raised and carried on upon a motive of religion; and, under that pretence, *Greece* became by degrees universally involved in it. The first occasion of it arose from the *Phocians*, who having ploughed up a piece of ground belonging to the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, their neighbours exclaimed against it as sacrilege; and it was adjudged so by the *Amphietyons*, who were assembled, as the *States General* of *Greece*, for that purpose; and an heavy fine was imposed on them: Which being unable to pay, they refused to submit to the sentence, alleging, that the care and patronage of the temple belonged anciently to them; and they quoted an authority for it from *Homer*.

Philomelus, the
Phocian
General.

This spirit of opposition was raised by *Philomelus*, a principal man among them, who encouraged them to take up arms, and acted as their General. He first applied himself to the *Spartans*, who had likewise been fined by the *Amphietyons*, at the instance of the *Thebans*, after the battle of *Leuctra*, for having seized the *Cadmæa*. For this reason they were very well disposed to join with him, but did not yet think it proper to declare themselves: However, they encouraged his design, and supplied him under-hand with money; by which means he raised troops, and without much difficulty, got possession of the temple. The chief resistance he met with in the neighbourhood

hood was from the *Locrians* ; but having worsted them, he erased the decree of the *Amphietyons*, which was inscribed on the pillars of the temple. However, to strengthen his authority, and give a colour to his proceedings, he thought it convenient to consult the oracle, and to procure an answer in his favour : But when he applied to the priests for that purpose, she refused to officiate, until being intimidated by his threats, she told him, *The god left him at liberty to act as he pleased*; which he looked upon as a good answer; and as such, he took care to divulge it.

This occasioned another assembly of the *Amphietyons*, the result whereof was a formal declaration of war against the *Phocians*. And the quarrel being now become more general, the several states took part in it, according to their different interests and inclinations. *Athens* and *Sparta*, with some others of the *Peloponnesians*, declared for the *Phocians* ; and the *Thebans*, *Thessalians*, *Locrians*, and other neighbouring states against them. *Philomelus*, at his first setting out, had made great professions with regard to the riches of the temple, which were immense, that he would not touch any part thereof, and that he had no design in making himself master of the temple, but to restore the ancient rights and privileges of his country. But having now formed his alliances, and being pressed for money to support them, he grew less scrupulous; he broke into the treasure, and made it a fund
for

Greece
divided in
this war.

The transactions of the two first years of it.

for carrying on the war. With this supply he encreased the pay of his men, and by that encouragement got together a considerable army. He marched with above ten thousand horse and foot against the *Locrians*, and beat them, notwithstanding that they were supported by the *Thebans*. He did the same by the *Theffalians*, who were likewise joined by their neighbours: But the *Thebans* at length coming up with thirteen thousand men, put a stop to his progress. As they had been the most active in procuring the decree, both against the *Spartans* and *Phocians*, so they were now the most zealous and inveterate against them, and pursued them with all the rage and rancour of a religious war; insomuch that having surpris'd a great party of the *Phocian* mercenaries that was foraging, they condemned and executed them, as sacrilegious and accursed: But the *Phocians* made reprisals upon them, and treating them in the same manner, brought them to act more according to the law of arms. However, the *Thebans* afterwards had the advantage of them in a woody part of the country, and over-powering them with numbers, made a great slaughter among them. *Philomelus* in the pursuit was forced up a precipice, and drove to a point of it, where, to avoid falling into the enemies hands, he threw himself headlong down the rock; though *Justin* says he was killed in the battle. But however that were, he made so vigorous a defence in this action,

Philomelus killed.

action, and had throughout conducted his affairs so well, that if his cause had been better, he might have been compared with the greatest men of his time. But according to the part he acted, he was no otherwise looked upon than as a bold and wicked adventurer, who stood in defiance of gods and men, and had involved his country in a war, to support him in his impieties.

These were the transactions of the two first years of the war; during which time *Philip* was enlarging and securing his frontier, by taking in such places as were either convenient for him, or troublesome to him. Of this latter kind was *Methone*, which serving as a refuge to his enemies, he took it by storm; and having demolished it, annexed the lands to *Macedonia*. During the siege, one of his eyes was struck out with an arrow; and the circumstance of it affected him more than the wound itself. For one *Aster* of *Amphipolis* having offered him his service as an extraordinary marksman, who could take a bird down flying, *Well*, said *Philip*, *when I wage war with starlings I will employ you*. The man was so nettled with this answer, that he threw himself into the town, and shot an arrow at him with this inscription on it, *At Philip's right eye*. *Philip* returned it to him with another inscription, *That he would hang up Aster, if he took the town*; and he was as good as his word. However, he was so ashamed of this accident, that he did not after-

Philip takes Methone, and other places.

afterwards care to talk of an eye, and could not bear the mention of the word *Cyclops*.

Olymp.
106. 4.
Onomarchus
succeeds Philomelus.

The *Thebans*, concluding that the death of *Philomelus* had deterred the *Phocians* from prosecuting the war, withdrew their forces. But he was succeeded by *Onomarchus*, who was personally interested in carrying it on: For the *Amphietyons* had laid several fines upon him, which he was not able to discharge. He therefore gathered up the remains of the army, and recruited it. For this purpose he coined money; with which he also confirmed his confederates, and bought off some of his enemies. The *Thessalians*, who were the most formidable of them, he engaged to stand neuter: But *Philip* soon after fixed them in his interest, by freeing them from their tyrants. Their case was, that *Lycophron* of *Pheræ*, who succeeded his brother *Alexander*, after he had assisted in his murder, set out at first as their deliverer, and governed with moderation; but soon after treading in his predecessors steps, they begged *Philip's* assistance against him. *Lycophron* at the same time had recourse to the *Phocians*: And thus by their quarrel among themselves, they were drawn again into the general one. *Onomarchus* therefore, as well in behalf of the tyrant, as to support the cause of the *Phocians*, began the hostilities. He took several places, and invading *Bæotia*, the *Thebans* were again called out to stop his further progress; which they did with some difficulty, having just before

before sent five thousand men, under the command of *Pammenes*, to the assistance of *Artabazus* in *Asia*, where they had good success, and did honour to their country.

Onomarchus in the mean time gained great advantages against *Philip* in two several actions, and struck such a terror into his men, that he

His successes against Philip.

had much ado to bring them again into the field. However, being reinforced, it came to a general battle, with twenty thousand men on each side. Six thousand on the side of the *Phocians* were killed on the spot, and three thousand taken prisoners. Among the former was *Onomarchus*, whose body *Philip* caused to be hanged up; and the prisoners he ordered to be thrown into the sea, as guilty of the sacrilege. This raised an opinion of his zeal for religion, which he knew how to make a right use of: And it passed likewise for a mark of his justice and generosity, with respect to the *Thessalians*, who were by this means restored to their liberty: For *Lycophron* went off upon the general rout; and he and his brother *Pitholaus* quitted *Pheræ*, though afterwards they appeared again in arms, and endeavoured, by means of the *Phocians*, to be reinstated. The *Thessalians* very well deserved this piece of service: For the success of the battle was owing chiefly to their horse; which *Philip* was so sensible of, that he took care to maintain a constant friendship and alliance with them; and

But at length is defeated, taken, and executed.

and they had a great part in the successive victories of his reign.

Olymp.
107. 1.
Succeeded
by his
brother
Phayllus.

Onomarchus was succeeded in the command by his brother *Phayllus*, who took the same methods that his predecessors had done to support himself. He had a great command of money, which being distributed very liberally, he increased the number of his confederates, and easily got a fresh supply of mercenaries; with which he marched into *Bœotia*, but was worsted there in three several engagements. From thence he removed into *Locris*, where he had more equal success; and after he had taken some towns, he was seized with a lingering illness, of which he died.

The Spar-
tans create
fresh dis-
turbances.

The course of the war had like to have been interrupted by a quarrel between the *Spartans* and the inhabitants of *Megalopolis*. The latter being unable to defend themselves, called in the *Argives*, *Sicyonians* and *Messenians*, to their assistance; and the *Thebans* afterwards joining them, they became an over-match for the *Spartans*; who thereupon borrowed three thousand foot of the *Phocians*; and *Lycophron*, with his brother *Pittholaus*, came in to them with a small party of horse. But notwithstanding these preparations, after the taking a town or two, which occasioned some sharp engagements, wherein the *Spartans* at length had the better, a truce was agreed upon, and the armies separated.

Upon

Upon the death of *Phayllus*, the command was given to *Phalecus*, the son of *Onomarchus*, who being very young, *Mnaseas* was assigned to him as his director, and was killed in the first action that happened. However, the war was continued by skirmishes, and mutual incursions and depredations. The *Thebans* had in this piqueering way got a good deal of plunder. But as the burden of the war lay chiefly upon them, they were so drained, that they were reduced to the last extremity; and sending to the King of *Persia* for a supply, he readily furnished them with three hundred talents.

Phalecus
succeeds
Phayllus.

Olymp.
107. 2.

Philip had not as yet been directly engaged in this war. For what he had done against *Onomarchus* was only by accident, and in consequence of his protecting the *Thessalians* against their tyrants. However, his success in that action, and the general esteem he had gained by his other exploits, had now enlarged his views, and put him upon endeavouring to gain a footing in *Greece*. In order to it, under a pretence of marching against the *Phocians*, he attempted to possess himself of the famous pass in the streights of *Thermopylæ*, which he called *The Key of Greece*. But the *Athenians*, who were more immediately exposed by this passage, took the alarm, and prevented him; so that he was forced to wait a more fit opportunity. In the mean time he pursued his conquests at home, enlarging his frontier towards *Thrace*, taking towns

Philip
prevented
in his de-
sign upon
Thermo-
pylæ.

towns upon the *Hellepont*, and making such further encroachments on all sides, as might facilitate his great and principal design of invading *Greece*.

*The rise
and cha-
racter of
Demost-
henes.*

The stopping his progress at *Thermopylae* was owing chiefly to *Demosthenes*, who had begun to distinguish himself soon after the conclusion of the *Social War*, when the *Athenians* were alarmed at the great preparations which were making in *Persia*. He afterwards appeared in behalf of the *Megalopolitans* and *Rhodians*, that they might be protected and supported against *Sparta* or *Thebes*, or any other state, which might, by such an accession give umbrage to *Athens*, and destroy the balance of power. But he began now to exert himself in a more extraordinary manner; and he had from this time forwards so great a share in the affairs of the public, that a particular account of him, besides the doing justice to the character of so wonderful a man, may serve, in a great measure, to explain and illustrate the history of the times he lived in. The chief regard that has been paid to his memory has generally been on account of his eloquence. But he was likewise a very able statesman, and a good patriot; and considering the embassies and expeditions, the treaties and alliances, and other various negotiations wherein he was employed, together with the zeal and integrity with which he acted in them, it may be questioned whether he did not excel as much in those capacities as

in

in that of an orator; though it must be confessed that his art of speaking was the foundation of his other merit, or at least the means of producing it to advantage, and improving it. But notwithstanding that he arrived to such a perfection in this art, he set out under great disadvantages: For he had an impediment in his speech, with a weak voice, and a short breath, and a very uncouth and ungracious manner; however, by dint of resolution, and infinite pains, he overcame all these defects. He would climb up steep and craggy places to help his wind, and strengthen his voice; he would declaim with pebbles in his mouth, to remedy the imperfection in his speech; he would place a looking-glass before him to correct the awkwardness of his gesture; and he learned of the best players the proper graces of action and pronunciation, which he thought of so much consequence, that he made the whole art of oratory in a manner to consist of them. But whatever stress he laid upon the exterior part of speaking, he was also very careful about the matter and the stile; the latter of which he formed upon the model of *Thucydides*, whose history, for that purpose, he transcribed eight several times. He was so intent upon his study, that he would often retire into a cave of the earth, and shave half his head, so that he could not with decency appear abroad until his hair was grown again. He also accustomed himself

to harangue at the sea-shore, where the agitation of the waves formed to him an idea of the commotions in a popular assembly, and served to prepare and fortify him against them.

From these several kinds of hardship, which he imposed upon himself, it is plain that he was not born an orator, but was rather an instance how far parts and application may go towards the forming a great man in any profession. To add to which, he had a great deal of ambition to spur him on; and that which heightened it, or rather gave the first rise to it, was a famous cause in a matter of dispute concerning *Oropus*, whether that city belonged to the *Attick* or the *Theban* frontier. *Callistratus*, who pleaded in behalf of the *Athenians*, succeeded well, and received extraordinary applause; which so affected *Demosthenes*, that from that instant, though he was then but sixteen years old, he fixed his resolution, and turned his thoughts wholly that way. And indeed the study of oratory was at that time the readiest, and almost the only means of rising in the state. His first essay at the bar was two years after this incident, when he called his guardians to account for embezzling his patrimony, and recovered some part of it. This encouraged him some time after to harangue before the people in their public assembly; but he acquitted himself so ill that they hissed him. However, he ventured a second time, but with no better success than before; so that
he

he went away ashamed and confounded, and quite in despair. It was upon this occasion that *Satyrus* the player accosted him, and in a friendly way encouraged him to proceed. With this view he asked him to repeat to him some verses of *Sophocles* or *Euripides*, which he accordingly did; the other repeated them after him, but with such a different spirit and cadence, as made him sensible that he knew very little of elocution. But by his instructions, and his own perseverance, he at length made himself master of it; and by the methods before-mentioned, he corrected the imperfections which were born with him, as well as the ill habits which he had contracted. It is not very clear whether this passage be rightly ascribed to *Satyrus*, who seems to be confounded with *Neoptolemus* and *Andronicus*, who were likewise famous comedians; and *Demosthenes* is said to have been instructed by all three of them.

With these advantages and improvements, he appeared again in public, and succeeded so well, that people flocked from all parts of *Greece* to hear him. From hence he was looked upon as the standard of true eloquence; insomuch that none of his countrymen have been put in comparison with him; nor even among the *Romans*, any but *Cicero*: And though it has been made a question by the ancient writers, to which of the two they should give the preference, they have not ventured to decide it, but have con-

tented themselves with describing their different beauties, and shewing that they were both perfect in their kind. But to confine myself to *Demosthenes*, his kind of eloquence was grave and austere, like his temper, but withal masculine and sublime, bold, forcible, and impetuous; abounding with metaphors, apostrophes, and interrogations; which, with his solemn way of invoking and appealing to the gods, the planets, the elements, and the *Manes* of those who fell at *Salamis* and *Marathon*, had such a wonderful effect upon his hearers, that they thought him inspired. If he had not so much softness and insinuation as is often requisite in an orator, it was not that he wanted art and delicacy when the case required it; he knew how to sound the inclinations of the people, and to lead them to the point he aimed at, and sometimes by seeming to propose that which was directly contrary to it. But his chief characteristick was vehemence, both in the action and expression; and indeed that was the qualification of all others most wanted at this time. For the people were grown so insolent and imperious, so factious and divided, so jealous of the power of the *Democracy*, and withal so sunk into a state of pleasure and indolence, that no arts of persuasion would have been so effectual, as that spirit and resolution, that force and energy of *Demosthenes*, to humble them, to unite them, and to rouse them into a sense of their common danger.

But

But neither could *Demosthenes* himself have made such impressions on them, if his talent of speaking had not been supported by their opinion of his integrity. It was that which added weight and emphasis to every thing he said, and animated the whole. It was that which chiefly engaged their attention, and determined their counsels, when they were convinced that he spoke from his heart, and had no interest to manage but that of the community. And this he gave the strongest proofs of in his zeal against *Philip*, who said, *He was of more weight against him than all the fleets and armies of the Athenians*; and that *he had no enemy but Demosthenes*. He was not wanting in his endeavours to corrupt him, as he had most of the leading men in *Greece*; but he withstood all his offers; and *Plutarch* says, *All the gold of Macedonia could not bribe him*. And yet as inflexible as he was to *Philip*, he became more pliable in the reign of his successor, and gave occasion to his enemies to accuse him of bribery; for which he was fined and imprisoned, and afterwards banished. This charge against him has by some been thought a malicious and groundless calumny, and the rather, because he was not allowed to justify himself. But the fact is so generally related by others, and with so many circumstances, that it is not easily to be refuted. The case in short was, that *Harpalus*, an officer of *Alexander's*, having embezzled a great part of

the treasure that he had been entrusted with, made up a purse, and retired with it to *Athens* for protection. It was debated by the people, whether they should admit him, for fear of incurring his master's displeasure, and involving themselves in a war; and *Demosthenes* considering it in that light, opposed it. *Harpalus*, to remove all difficulties, dispersed his money pretty liberally among the orators; and as he was displaying his wealth, *Demosthenes* happened to fix his eyes on a rich gold cup of the King's, and admiring the sculpture and fashion, asked the price of it. *Harpalus* took the hint, and at night sent it home to him, together with twenty talents in money. The next day he appeared in the assembly muffled up about his throat; and when he was expected to speak to the point in question, he made signs that he had lost his voice. But his transaction with *Harpalus* had taken wind; and when he found himself detected, he rose up to excuse it; but the people were so enraged, that they would not hear him: Whereupon a certain wag stood up and said, *What, will ye not bear the King's cup-bearer?* Others said, *Surely the orator had not been seized that night with a silver squinzy;* and they had coined a * word on purpose to express it. *Demosthenes* could not stand this contempt and raillery of his fellow-citizens, who had hitherto esteemed and respected him, even to a sort of reverence; and it affected him the more,

* Ἀργυράσχη.

because

because he had piqued himself so much more than others upon the rigidness of his virtue, which indeed was the chief foundation of that extraordinary respect which had been paid him. But the itch of money had infected him; and this was not the only instance of his receiving presents in a clandestine and unwarrantable manner. As a further argument that he did not despise money, he was reproached with dealing in bottomry, which in those days was looked upon as a scandalous way of traffick: And therefore *Zeno*, who likewise practised it some time after him, gave it up as a thing that would hurt the credit of his philosophy. But however *Demosthenes* was in some degree tainted with the general corruption of the times, he does not seem to have loved money so much for its own sake, as to serve the ends of his ambition: Wherein he copied after *Pericles*, whom he likewise chose to imitate in his manner of speaking. He had not the command as the other had of the public money, and therefore was not in a capacity of doing so many great and popular acts: But he repaired the city walls, fitted out ships, ransomed slaves, married poor maidens, entertained the people with shews and sports, and did such other things of that kind as were within the compass of his private fortune. And this seems the most plausible way of accounting for the methods he took to get money, and to improve it.

But whatever might be alleged in his excuse as to money matters, he had another failing, which, by his own confession, he was guilty of, and that was want of courage, as will be more particularly related in its proper place. In the mean time, I would only observe the strange inconsistency in the composition of this great man, who, with such constancy and intrepidity, opposed all the measures of the foreign and domestic enemies of his country, and who so often, at the hazard of his life, braved the madness of the people in their assemblies, and yet could not stand an enemy in the field. *He chose,* says *Plutarch*, *to swear by those who fell at Marathon, though he could not follow their example.* And what is still more extraordinary, he afterwards refused life when it was offered him; and nobody died with greater fortitude. These frailties, which I have mentioned, could not but take off a great deal from the lustre of his character; insomuch that *Phocion*, who succeeded him, though in several respects he was not equal to him, besides that he was suspected to favour the *Macedonian* interest, yet being more remarkable for his personal justice and valour, he was therefore looked upon as the greater man. However, *Demosthenes*, such as he was, did more service to the state than any of his contemporaries: He was the chief bulwark not only of *Athens*, but of *Greece* in general, and almost the only obstacle to *Philip's* designs of enslaving it.

it. Which leads us now into an inquiry how those designs were laid, and how far they succeeded.

The two next years of the *Phocian* war passed without any memorable action, though it was still continued by skirmishes and mutual depredations. *Philip* had now no part in it. But when he found himself shut out of *Greece* by the *Athenians*, he turned his arms against those remote places, which depended on them, either as colonies or as conquests: And particularly against the *Olynthians*, whom he had long looked upon with an evil eye, but had courted and cajoled them whilst he was otherwise employed. But he came now resolved entirely to reduce them; and advancing towards the city, only sent them a short message, to let them know, *that one of these two points was become necessary, either that they must quit Olynthus or be Macedonia*: Whereupon they sent immediately to *Athens* for relief. The matter was debated there with great solemnity; and *Demosthenes* was very earnest in supporting their demands: In the doing whereof, he took occasion to lay open the designs and practices of *Philip*, inveighing against him with great bitterness, and urging every thing that might serve to incense the people against him. He described him as a proud, tyrannical usurper, and a common disturber of mankind; without faith or confidence; without any principle of honour or justice, or any regard to laws,

Olymp.
102. 1.
Philip's
design upon
Olynthus.

Demosthenes
presses the
Athenians
to relieve
it.

Describes
Philip.

laws, human or divine. Then as to the danger they might apprehend from him, he represented him likewise as politick, vigilant, indefatigable, intrepid, and fortunate, who fought as successfully with his money as his sword, and knew how to corrupt where he could not conquer. But lest, from this account of him, he should appear so formidable to the people, that they might be discouraged from endeavouring to stop his progress, he shewed him in another light as vain, presumptuous, rash, and imprudent, forming schemes without any foundation; and measuring the vastness of his designs only by the standard of his ambition. From these different views of him, which were varied according to the different impressions that were to be made upon the people, we may collect almost the whole of his character: But the orator, in framing this picture of him, must be said to have drawn the lines a little too strong, and to have heightened the colours too much by the warmth of his zeal, and the force of his elocution. And yet these exaggerations were necessary at this time, in order to inflame the people: For *Philip* had his partizans among the orators, who combated and opposed every thing that was urged against him.

*Character
of Demades,*

One of the ablest and most zealous of them was *Demades*, who was very ready and acute, and remarkable for speaking *extempore*, as any occasion offered. Herein he had manifestly the advantage

advantage of *Demosthenes*, whose works were said to *smell of the lamp*. And hence it was, that *Theophrastus* being asked his opinion of the two orators, answered, *That Demosthenes was worthy of the city of Athens, but that Demades was above it*. However, *Demosthenes* had, upon some very important occasions, succeeded well in the unpremeditated way of haranguing; but it being not his usual method, nor his natural talent, he discouraged the practice of it. And therein he made use of an artful argument, that to speak before the people in an abrupt manner, and without due preparation, was not treating them with respect; that it had somewhat of an *oligarchical* principle in it, and was rather bearing them down by force, than winning them by persuasion. As to *Demades*, whatever his wit and parts were, he was very mercenary and corrupt: And when he was charged with it, he said, *He had often spoke against himself, but never against his country*. But there is an instance recorded of him, wherein he seemed rather to value himself upon it, than to excuse it: For meeting one day with a player, who had received a talent as a reward for a part that he had excelled in, *It is not so extraordinary*, said *Demades*, *to have one talent given you for speaking; I had ten given me for holding my tongue*. His prostituting himself in this manner was chiefly to support his luxury: For he was naturally profuse and gluttonous; and hence

hence it was, that when he was grown old, *Antipater* compared him to a sacrificed beast, of which all the parts were consumed but the tongue and the paunch. He was sometimes upon good terms with *Demosthenes*, according as it served his present purpose : But the rivalry in their profession, with the different cast of their tempers and their politicks, made it impracticable for them to live in any real friendship. On the contrary, they were generally at variance ; and at length it came to an open enmity, which in the sequel will appear to have cost *Demosthenes* his life.

and of
Hyperides

Another of the same stamp with *Demades* was *Hyperides*, both as to his parts and principles, and his riotous manner of living. He had a more premeditated way of speaking ; but with the same kind of wit and acrimony, though he was not so quick. He is generally ranked with *Demosthenes*, and is mentioned as one of the ten principal orators of that age, though *Plutarch* does not reckon him in that number. He took a great deal of pains to ingratiate himself with the people, and had no ties of faith or friendship, but as they served that end. However, he was not much in the administration of affairs until the reign of *Alexander* : And then he acted such a double part between the patriot and the traitor, that he was at last ensnared by his own politicks, and fell a sacrifice to the resentment of *Antipater*.
Such

Such were most of the leading men in the assemblies, and such was generally their end. To carry on their own private views, they inflamed the people, and deluded them with false colours, until they had drawn them either into an unnecessary war, or a bad peace: But sooner or later they suffered for it, and were either made particular marks of vengeance, or involved in the common ruin of their country. This was more remarkably the case at *Athens*, which had been always looked upon as the chief seat of eloquence, and never abounded with so many eminent speakers as at this time. But that which was the glory of this commonwealth must at the same time be considered as one principal cause that hastened its downfall, and drew along with it that of the other *Grecian* states.

But to return to *Demosthenes*: his steady and uniform conduct supported him for many years against *Demades*, and the rest of his antagonists; and he got the better of them in the present case of the *Olynthians*; though he was not able to obtain such seasonable and effectual relief for them, as the necessity of their affairs required, notwithstanding that he pressed it with all the skill and arguments that he was master of. He told the people how much they were obliged in justice and honour to support their allies; and how much their own safety depended on it; for that if *Olynthus* should

Demosthenes still presses the relief of Olynthus.

should be taken, the next attempt would be upon *Athens*. He reproached them with their insensibility and sloth, to which he chiefly ascribed all *Philip's* greatness; and cautioned them against the treachery and enchantment of their orators. He advised them to reform abuses; to restore the ancient order and discipline; to serve in the wars in person, as they had formerly done; to lay aside their private animosities; to unite against *Philip* as their common enemy, and to furnish the necessary supplies.

But this latter was the great point in question, and that which had occasioned most of their late dissensions, the fund for the war (as has before been observed) having been applied to the use of the stage. The money arising from this fund was computed at a thousand talents a year; and a certain proportion of it was allotted to the citizens to defray the charge of their admittance into the theatre. This distribution having been continued to them from the time of *Pericles*, they claimed it now as their right, especially since they had lately obtained a law, which made it capital to propose the restoring the fund to the uses for which it was originally granted. Hence it was, that upon any pressing emergency, extraordinary taxes were to be raised; and they were laid so unequally, and collected with so much difficulty, that they seldom answered the service

vice for which they were intended. The wealthier sort complained, that the burden lay wholly upon them, and that the public money was squandered away in shews and festivals, for the entertainment of the lower rank of the citizens, who sat at their ease, and contributed nothing to the support of the public, either in their purse or their persons. They retorted upon the rich, that they enjoyed all the honours and great offices of the state, exclusive of the common people; and as they had the law on their side, with numbers to support it, they gave little attention to any remonstrances that were made upon this head. *Demosthenes*, who had nothing in view but the general good, thought it necessary to found the people upon this subject, and entered as far into it as he could with safety; he proposed that commissioners should be appointed to inspect the laws in general; not in order to make new ones, for that there were already too many, but that such of them as should be found prejudicial to the public might be abolished. At the same time he urged the present necessity of raising forces, and mentioned the *theatrical money* as the only proper fund for it. In conclusion, he told them plainly that the law relating to it ought to be repealed. However, he took care to deliver it only as his opinion, without proposing it in form, so as to subject himself to the penalty.

This

This was the substance of the three famous orations of *Demosthenes*, upon occasion of three several applications that the *Olynthians* made to *Athens* for succours. The first of them produced no effect in their behalf. Upon the second, *Chares* was dispatched to them with thirty gallies and two thousand men. But these being hirelings and strangers, did them very little service: Which occasioned their third application, wherein they desired true *Athenian* troops, whom they could better depend on. And accordingly *Chares* was sent out again with seventeen gallies, and a body of two thousand foot and three hundred horse, composed entirely of the citizens of *Athens*.

Olynthus
betrayed to
Philip.

But the *Olynthians* continued blocked up; and whatever benefit they might have received from this last supply, they were prevented by *Philip*, who by the correspondence he held in the town, had corrupted *Eutbycrates* and *Lasthenes*, the two chief magistrates, who betrayed it into his hands. He entered and plundered it, and sold the inhabitants among the rest of the booty. He also found in it his two bastard brothers, whom he put to death, as he formerly had the other of them, being jealous of their supplanting him in the throne. This circumstance of his brothers is related only by *Justin*, who also makes the harbouring them in the town, the pretence for *Philip's* investing it. He found in it abundance of treasure,

sure which he reserved as a fund for the gaining other places in the same manner. In the mean time, he shewed other extraordinary marks of joy for the taking *Olynthus*, as a place of the greatest importance: He celebrated public games, gave *shews* and festivals, and made presents to those who assisted at them.

One of the remarkable occurrences of this first year of the 108th *Olympiad* was the death of *Plato*, which happened suddenly in the midst of an entertainment, that he had made for his friends upon his birth-day, which completed the eighty-first year of his age. By his father's side he was of royal extraction, and by his mother he was descended from *Solon*: But he is not so much taken notice of for his high birth as for the figure he made in the world by his philosophy. He was a scholar of *Socrates*; but was more lively and fertile in his imagination, more sublime and florid in his diction, and more copious and extensive in his matter. Instead of confining himself, after his example, to the study of morality only, he took in the whole compass of philosophy, and had distinct masters for each particular branch of it. To add to the improvements he made under them, he travelled into *Italy*, *Sicily*, *Ægypt*, and *Persia*. In *Ægypt*, he is supposed to have been made acquainted with the books of *Moses*, by means of the *Jews*, who were very numerous there after the captivity.

*Death and
character
of Plato.*

Hence it was, that *Clemens Alexandrinus* called him the *Attick Moses*. And he appears, in several parts of his works, to have had some distinct notions of a Supreme Being, and of the immortality of the soul. Some have pretended, but upon a very shallow foundation, to discover in him the idea of the Trinity, and other mysteries of Christianity. But whatever sentiments he had above the common received notions of the religion of his country, the example of *Socrates* had deterred him from declaring himself too plainly; and therefore he chose, in the way of dialogue, to couch his opinions under the names of others. But some say it was his extreme modesty and diffidence of himself, and the great veneration he paid to his master, that made him imitate him in this manner of writing, and that for these reasons it was that *Socrates* is made to speak what *Plato* thought. His method of explaining things by numbers he learned in the *Pythagorean* school in *Italy*; and his manner of expressing himself by allegories and symbols, he took from the *Ægyptians*. But those parts of his writings appear too mysterious and refined; as does likewise his doctrine of ideas; which, notwithstanding the many long dissertations of the learned upon it, seems to have been very little understood. Upon his return from his travels, he was courted to take a part in the government; but he chose to lead a quiet and

con-

contemplative life, and he pursued his studies to the last day of it. The teaching philosophy being at this time esteemed very honourable, he set up his school in the *Academy* just without the city, and from thence he was stiled *The Founder of the Academick Sect*. That he had no regard to the gainful part of his profession, is plain from his contempt of riches: For he divided his estate, which was very considerable, among his brothers, reserving to himself only a little country seat, with a small garden. Notwithstanding his application to study, he had none of that gloominess and austerity in his temper, which was common to most of his profession. On the contrary, he was cheerful and facetious, and sometimes loved raillery; but it was always inoffensive and with good manners, and only to enliven the conversation. He prescribed the same rules of behaviour to his scholars; and hence it was, that he recommended it so strongly to them, *To sacrifice to the graces*. He was as universally beloved and carested for his engaging manner, and the easiness of his temper, as he was esteemed and admired for his knowledge. After his death, Kings and commonwealths erected statues, and dedicated altars to him; so that his memory became sacred, his doctrine was established, and he has passed both with Pagans and Christians under the name of *The Divine Plato*.

Olymp.

108. 2.

*The pu-**nishment of**those who**had rifled**the temple.*

During the transactions at *Olynthus*, the *Phocian* war was continued; But such a terrible havock was made of the treasure of the temple, that the *Phocians* themselves being at length grown ashamed of it, appointed commissaries to inquire into it, and turned *Phalecus* out of the command; however, he was restored to it again after justice had been done on those who had been employed as his agents. The bulk of the money had been entrusted with one *Pbilo*, who was condemned and racked to death. In the extremity of his torture he named many of his accomplices, who were likewise put to death, notwithstanding that they had given up what was remaining in their hands. The value of what had been rifled in the course of the war, in money and rich presents, with other things dedicated to the use of the temple, amounted in the whole to above ten thousand talents; which was an immense sum, and is said to be more than *Alexander* afterwards found in the treasury of the *Persians*.

Philip had for the most part affected to observe a neutrality in this quarrel: But by the small part he had already acted in it, it was easily seen that he intended to do more. In the mean time, he left the contending parties to harass and weaken one another, that he might afterwards fall in with those who could be of most use to him; and the case happened now according to his expectations. For the *Thebans* were

were so exhausted with the war, that they were not able to carry it on to any advantage, and therefore had recourse to him for his assistance; which he made no difficulty of granting them. This was a very lucky circumstance for the promoting his views; but it was the most fatal step the *Thebans* could have taken, both with regard to themselves and the rest of *Greece*. Their calling in one who was as yet to be looked upon as a foreigner, and who only waited such an opportunity, was sacrificing every thing to their obstinacy and inveteracy against the *Phocians*; it was giving up all those marks of superiority which they pretended to upon the credit of their victories under *Epaminondas*; in short, it was consigning themselves over to slavery, and forging their own chains. And with regard to the public, the consequences will appear to be still worse. The *Thessalians*, who had been inveigled by *Philip* ever since his accession to the throne, were prevailed upon to join in this new confederacy. And afterwards several other *Grecian* states, when they found themselves oppressed by their neighbours, applied to *Philip* for relief, as to a common friend and protector: But this was not until he had a more immediate influence in their affairs, by being admitted into the assembly of the *Amphictyons*; besides, it was the *Thebans* who set them the example, and who are therefore to be looked

The Thebans call in Philip to their assistance.

The ill consequences of it.

upon as the principal betrayers of the liberties of Greece.

But though *Philip* had entered into these engagements with the *Thebans*, he considered that the *Phocians* were supported both by *Athens* and *Sparta*, and therefore proceeded with caution and secrecy, and took time to form his measures accordingly. Amidst these deliberations, it happened just as he could have wished, that the *Athenians* being grown weary of a war, which was so far from turning to their account, that it only gave *Philip* a better opportunity of wresting from them their possessions in *Thrace*, had therefore sent to sound him upon a peace. *Ctesiphan* and *Phyrnon*, who were employed in this commission, made their report, that he was not at all averse to it; and thereupon *Demosthenes*, with nine others, were sent as Ambassadors to negotiate it. They went as far in it as they were authorized by their instructions, and returned with *Antipater*, *Parmenio*, and *Eurylochus*, on the part of *Philip*. Soon after, the ten were dispatched back again, with full powers to put the last hand to the treaty. *Demosthenes*, in the first of these embassies, had met with some *Athenian* prisoners in *Macedonia*, whom he had promised to redeem at his own expence; and he took the present opportunity for it. In the mean time, his colleagues were to proceed with all expedition, in order to conclude with *Philip*: But they

*Athens negotiates a
peace
with
Philip,*

they loitered by the way, and were three months in *Macedonia* before they had access to *Philip*, who was all that time ravaging the *Athenian* dominions in *Thrace*. When at last they got up to him, he agreed to the terms of the treaty; but still, upon one pretence or other, deferred the execution of it, until at length being advanced with his troops into *Thessaly*, in order to proceed against the *Phocians*, he found it necessary to conclude with the *Athenians*, and accordingly ratified the treaty. *which at last is concluded.*

By these delays, which he gained by bribing all the Ambassadors in general, except *Demosthenes*, he had kept the *Athenians* in suspense, until his other designs were ripe for execution. However, as the peace was at last concluded, the generality of the people were well satisfied with it, and the Ambassadors, at their return, valued themselves upon the success of their negotiations. *Æschines* in particular, who was one of them, and was entirely devoted to *Philip*, expatiated largely upon his candour and sincerity, and vouched for his performance of several things which he had promised in behalf of the republic, although they were not stipulated by the treaty; as that *Thespiae* and *Plataea* should be repeopled; that, in case he should subdue the *Phocians*, he would not destroy them; that he would put the *Thebans* upon a reasonable footing; that *Oropus* should be secured to the *Athenians*; and that *Eubœa* should be given up to them. *Æschines vouches for Philip's promises.*

Demosthenes
gives no
credit to
them.

Account of
the contest
between
him and
Æschines

them as an equivalent for *Amphipolis*. *Demosthenes* endeavoured, with his usual frankness, to convince the people how little stress there was to be laid upon these promises of *Philip*, which, he said, were made only to amuse them, and to divert them from his real design, which was, to make himself master of *Phocis*; and that their suffering him to succeed in that would be giving up every thing. But all that he could say upon this occasion had no weight with them. They were willing to be deceived; and *Æschines* knew how to work upon their credulity. He was in the first rank of orators, and disputed the prize even with *Demosthenes*; of which there was a famous instance in the contest concerning the crown, wherein the abilities of these two great men were displayed in their highest lustre, and engaged the attention of all the learned men of *Greece*. The case in short was, That *Demosthenes*, among other necessary works that were committed to his charge, had the care of repairing the city walls, which he did partly at his own expence; and the people, in testimony of their gratitude, decreed him a crown of gold. *Æschines* being jealous of his rival's glory, brought an action against *Ctesiphon*, as being the author of the decree, and founded it upon a pretence, that *Demosthenes* had not passed his accounts to the public, and therefore was not capable by law of receiving any reward for his services. This fact

fact happened in the hundred and tenth *Olympiad*, about the time of the battle of *Cheronæa*, and the suit was commenced soon after; but it was not heard until several years after *Philip's* death, when *Æschines*, taking advantage of *Demosthenes*, whose credit was then at a very low ebb, brought it on. However, *Demosthenes* prevailed, as well by the justice of his cause as by the force of his eloquence; and *Æschines* was so ashamed, that he spent the remainder of his life in a voluntary exile.

Another famous man who encouraged the people in this peaceable disposition, and confirmed them in their good opinion of *Philip*, was *Isocrates*, who yet did it with an honest intention. He was a great master of the rules of oratory, and most of the great men of his time had been instructed by him: But he declined speaking himself in public, having a weak voice, and a natural diffidence and timidity. However, he was not wholly unconcerned in the affairs of the public; but his way of delivering his sentiments upon them was in writing, and in the form of an oration. And in this manner he now addressed himself to *Philip*, with whom he was upon some terms of friendship and confidence, but not otherwise than he thought consistent with the duty of a good citizen. He explained to him the several advantages that might be drawn from the peace he had concluded with *Athens*; and told him, that
in

Character of Isocrates.

His advice to Philip.

in order to make a right use of it, he should endeavour to compose the differences still subsisting between the other states, and to restore the general tranquillity of *Greece*. That the reconciling them to one another, and then leaving them to the free enjoyment of their laws, and their liberty, would endear him to them, and would redound infinitely more to his honour, than all the conquests he could make. He then advised him to turn his arms against *Persia*, as the proper object of his ambition; intimating to him, that the *Grecians* would readily act in conjunction with him against their common and inveterate enemy; and that in that case there would be no room to doubt of the success: For proof whereof he instanced to him the expedition of *The ten thousand*, with the glorious circumstances of their retreat; and that of *Agessilaus* afterwards, who, with a body of *Spartans* only, would have subdued the whole *Persian* empire, if he had not been diverted from it by the divisions of his country. He told him further, that many who were prejudiced against him, gave him the character of an artful and designing Prince, and were of opinion, that whatever specious pretences he made use of to disguise his approach towards them, his real intention was to make himself master of *Greece*. He mentioned these things only as reports, and such as were injurious, and without foundation; and would not suffer himself to suppose, that a Prince
who

who valued himself so much upon his being descended from *Hercules*, the deliverer of *Greece*, would ever make an attempt to enslave it. However, he exhorted him, by a generous and disinterested proceeding, to contradict these reports; to govern his subjects with justice and prudence, and to give peace to his neighbours; in short, to set bounds to his ambition at home, and to extend his conquests in *Persia*. The main scope of this oration was to divert him from attempting any thing that might give umbrage to *Greece*; and *Isocrates* chose this way of gaining upon him by mildness and complaisance; but he was too easy and credulous. *Demosthenes* was more a man of business, and knew the world and *Philip* too well to imagine, that one of his aspiring and intriguing temper, who had, during his whole reign fomented divisions in *Greece*, in order to reap the benefit of it to himself, would be prevailed upon by any reasoning of this kind, to give up his favourite design, which he had so long projected, and which was now so near taking effect. However, the sincerity and long experience of *Isocrates*, who was now eighty-eight years old, added great weight to his opinion; which, with the impressions that *Aischines* and the other pensioners had made upon the people, together with their own natural aversion to war, determined the point so far in favour of *Philip*, that he was suffered

Philip *suffered to gain the streights of Thermopylæ.*

A. M.
3658.
Olymp.
108. 3.
He puts an end to the Phocian war.

suffered quietly to pursue his march into *Phocis*, and to gain the streights of *Thermopylæ*.

He did not immediately discover what use he intended to make of his entrance into *Greece*, but went on, according to his agreement with the *Thebans*, to put an end to the *Phocian* war, which he easily effected. His name and appearance struck such a terror among the *Phocians*, that though they had lately received a reinforcement of a thousand heavy-armed *Spartans*, under the command of their King *Archidamus*, they declined giving him battle, and sent to treat with him, or rather to submit themselves to any terms that he would give them. He allowed *Phalecus* to retire with eight thousand men, being mercenaries, into *Peloponnesus*; but the rest, who were the inhabitants of *Phocis*, were left at his mercy. As the disposing of them was a matter wherein *Greece* in general was concerned, he did not think fit to act in it by his own private authority, but referred it to the *Amphictyons*, whom he caused to be assembled for that purpose. But they were so much under his influence, that they served only to give a sanction to his determinations. They decreed, *That all the cities of Phocis should be demolished; that they who had fled, as being principally concerned in the sacrilege, should be stigmatized as accursed, and proscribed as out-laws; that they who remained as inhabitants should be dispersed in villages, and obliged to pay,*

out

out of their lands a yearly tribute of sixty talents, until the whole of what had been taken out of the temple should be restored. They were likewise adjudged to lose their seat in the council of the *Amphictyons*, wherein they had a double voice.

This *Philip* got transferred to himself; which was a very material point, and may be looked upon as the principal step towards his gaining that authority which he afterwards exercised in the affairs of *Greece*. At the same time he gained in conjunction with the *Thebans* and *Theſſalians* the superintendency of the *Pythian* games, which the *Corinthians* had forfeited for their having taken part with the *Phocians*.

*He obtains
a seat
among the
Amphic-
tyons,*

*and the su-
perinten-
dency of
the Pythi-
an games.*

Thus did *Philip*, without striking a stroke, put an end to this war, after it had for ten years together divided *Greece* against itself; and besides the other advantages that he had drawn from it, he gained an universal esteem and applause, for having vindicated the honour of religion. *Diodorus Siculus*, who generally abounds with sentiments of piety towards the gods, but with a great mixture of credulity and superstition, ascribes all the success of his affairs afterwards to this single instance of his zeal for religion, which in reality was nothing but artifice and hypocrisy. He goes on to describe the several judgments which befel those who were concerned in the sacrilege, and descends even to their wives, who, he says, were made examples of the divine vengeance, for having adorned them-

themselves with necklaces and other trinkets taken out of the temple. He carries his reflections so far as to impute the loss of the power and liberty of the principal cities of *Greece*, which happened afterwards under *Antipater*, to their being engaged in this act of profanation with the *Phocians*.

C H A P. III.

From the end of the *Phocian War*, to the battle of *Gheronêa*.

Containing the space of eight years.

*Affairs in
Sicily.*

PHILIP having by these plausible methods succeeded in this expedition, did not think it adviseable, by attempting any thing further at present, to fully the glory he had acquired by it, or to incense the body of the *Grecians* against him. Wherefore he returned in a triumphant manner to his own dominions; where we will leave him employed against his old enemies the *Illyrians*, to relate some remarkable occurrences which happened at this time in *Sicily*. For though that island be not strictly to be looked upon as a part of *Greece*, yet the transactions we are now speaking of, as they were owing chiefly to the *Grecians*, will naturally fall in with their story. And here it may be necessary to take a summary

summary view of the state of that island, without entering into the fabulous accounts of the first ages of it: For *Sicily*, like most other nations, had its giants and monsters. Such were the *Cyclopes* and *Læstrigones*, who are mentioned as the first inhabitants. To them succeeded the *Sicani*; but whether they were natives, or transplanted from *Spain*, is not clearly determined. The next were the *Siculi*, who being drove by the *Pelasgi* from that part of *Latium* whereon *Rome* was built, and finding no proper seat on the continent, transported themselves as adventurers to this island, where they became so far masters, as to give the name to it, which it has ever since retained.

The first inhabitants.

About three hundred years after they were in possession of the island, a considerable number of *Grecians* settled themselves in it. These were the *Chalcidians* of *Eubœa*; and they were soon followed by a body of *Corinthians*, who possessed themselves of *Syracuse*; which, from the extent of its buildings, and the conveniency and capaciousness of the harbour, became the *Metropolis* of the island, though it was rivalled by several other great cities, which were independent of that and of one another. These cities were originally governed by the people; but as the power of the leading men among them increased, they fell by degrees into *Aristocracies*, and were afterwards erected into little principalities and tyrannies, under the command of single persons.

The Grecians get footing there.

And

And it frequently happened, that some one of these tyrants, of a more enterprising genius than the rest, aspired to the conquest of the whole.

*Summary
account of
Syracuse.*

*Gelon the
first tyrant*

Such was the confused state of *Sicily* for several ages before and after the *Grecians* had any footing in it; and the *Syracusians* underwent the same changes and interruptions in the course of its government, as the other parts of the island. Their first tyrant was *Gelon*, who, taking advantage of the dissensions between the magistrates and the people, fell in with the former, and, under a pretence of restoring them to their dignities, obtained the sovereignty for himself. However, he made no ill use of his power. He signalized himself by many great actions both in peace and war. He not only strengthened and adorned the city, and enlarged the territory, but saved the whole island from falling into the hands of the *Carthaginians*, who had set their heart upon the conquest of it, as lying so convenient for their shipping, and were further tempted by the fruitfulness of the soil, and the riches of the inhabitants. Accordingly, under the common pretence of assisting to compose the differences among them, they threw a vast number of their own, and other *African* troops into the island. But their designs were seen thro'; and the several cities uniting in their common defence, the *Carthaginians* were attacked and defeated, and are said to have lost an hundred

dred and fifty thousand men in this expedition. The honour of this victory was ascribed chiefly to *Gelon*, who had by this, and many other instances, so far endeared himself to the people, that they suffered his brothers *Hiero* and *Thrasymbulus* to succeed him in their turns as lawful Princes. The former held it eleven years, and the latter ten months: But their government became so odious to the people, that they forced them to quit it; and by this means they recovered their former liberty; which they enjoyed near sixty years, until the elder *Dionysius* by his bravery and cunning usurped again upon them, and supported himself for thirty-eight years, notwithstanding his many acts of violence and cruelty. But he had some qualities which were very useful to the public. He greatly increased the naval force, and was very zealous in prosecuting the war against the *Carthaginians*. He had studied the art of speaking, and found his account in it, especially at his first setting out upon the foot of a patriot. But that which he chiefly applied himself to was poetry, which he affected to a degree that made him ridiculous. He was so full of his performances of this kind, that he not only courted applause, but extorted it by rewards and punishments. In short, he valued himself more upon his writing bad verses than upon his gaining a victory against the enemies of his country.

Is succeeded by his brothers Hiero and Thrasymbulus.

Another usurpation by Dionysius the elder.

His character.

He is suc-
ceeded by
his son
Dionysius

The cha-
racter of
Dion,

who
drives
Dionysius
into Italy.

He was succeeded by one of his sons of the same name, who inherited his father's vices, but without his spirit or capacity. However, being of a milder temper, his friends had hopes of reclaiming him, and of correcting those failings in him, which they looked upon only as the effects of a bad education. They who were principally employed in this work were *Dion* and *Plato*: The former was his brother-in-law, and was so remarkable for his honour and virtue, and zeal for his country, that he was not only the greatest man in *Sicily*, but might be ranked with the best men in the best age of *Greece*. But he had a rigidity and austerity of the *Spartan* kind, which was not very well suited to the task he had undertaken. However, being associated with *Plato*, who had a more engaging manner, they used their joint endeavours to give the young Prince a tincture of science and literature, and to instil into him principles of justice and moderation; and they had in some measure succeeded in their design. But his flatterers and his own natural disposition got the better of all their instructions; and he soon relapsed into his former state of indolence and sensuality. The consequence was, that *Dion* was disgraced and banished: But he returned, and drove the tyrant into *Italy*; and by this means put the *Syracusians* into a condition of re-establishing themselves in their freedom. But instead of improving this opportunity, they quarrelled with their

their deliverer, and upon an ill-grounded jealousy of his aspiring to the government, treated him with great inhumanity and ingratitude; which he generously overlooked, and endeavoured still to extricate them out of their difficulties. But he was soon after killed by means of *Calippus*, an *Athenian*, who came over with him to assist him against *Dionysius*, but began now to set up for himself; and by getting rid of *Dion*, who was the chief obstacle in his way, succeeded in the tyranny, and held it about a year.

Dion is killed by Calippus, who succeeds in the tyranny.

Dionysius, after ten years absence, found means to reinstate himself in the government; but he did not hold it long: For his sufferings, instead of making him wiser and better, had hardened and exasperated him, and he became more fierce and cruel than before. Hereupon the people had recourse to *Acetes*, who was a native of *Syracuse*, but at that time governed the *Leontines*. He readily espoused their quarrel against the tyrant, but it was in order to succeed him; and with that view he entered into a secret league with the *Carthaginians*, who lay hovering about the island with a numerous fleet. This gave the *Syracusians* a fresh alarm; so that between their oppressions and divisions at home, and their apprehensions of an invasion from abroad, they knew not who to apply to, nor who to trust; and they had brought themselves into these straits by their own ill conduct. For they did not distinguish between their friends

Dionysius is restored.

and their foes; they had all the capriciousness and insolence of a free state, without the power; in short, they knew neither how to govern, nor to obey.

Timoleon
ordered to
the relief
of the Sy-
racusians.

In this distracted state of their affairs, they turned their thoughts towards Greece, and applied for relief to *Corinth*, as being their mother-country, and a common patroness of liberty. The *Corinthians* sent them a favourable answer, and ordered a body of troops to be dispatched to them under the command of *Timoleon*, who was of one of the best families in *Corinth*, and who, besides his many other great qualities, had given a very extraordinary instance of his aversion to tyranny.

Account of
his former
conduct.

He had an elder brother named *Timophanes*, whom he loved passionately, and had rescued him in an engagement against the *Argives* with the utmost hazard of his own life. This brother having afterwards the command of the city-guards, made use of them to subvert the government, and declared himself King of *Corinth*. *Timoleon* endeavoured by all possible means to dissuade him from these violent measures; and not being able of himself to bring him to reason, engaged two of his friends to assist him in it. Upon their expostulating with him, he first laughed at them, and then, as they pressed him further, he grew angry; upon which *Timoleon* finding that neither their prayers and entreaties, nor their arguments and

menaces

menaces had any effect upon him, retired at a little distance from him, and stood weeping with his face covered, whilst the other two drew their swords and dispatched him. *Diodorus Siculus* says, *Timoleon* killed him with his own hands in the market-place. He relates this story with several other different circumstances: But the account which *Plutarch* gives of it from the historians who lived at the time when the fact was committed, is more probable, and more consistent and uniform, as well as more to the honour of *Timoleon*. This action was by some extolled and applauded as the highest pitch of human virtue, and by others condemned as a base and unnatural parricide. And *Timoleon* himself, when he came to cool, felt such a remorse for it, that he abandoned himself to despair, and resolved to starve himself to death. His friends with great importunity, and even by force, prevailed upon him to take some sustenance; and at length he promised them he would live, but upon condition that he might quit the service of the public, and retire to some remote and desert corner of the country; which he accordingly did, and for near twelve years together wandered up and down the fields by himself, in this anxious and forlorn condition.

He was returned to *Corinth* when he was pitched upon for this command; and as he lived still in a retired way, he would gladly have

declined it, but that he did not think it consistent with the duty he owed to his country. Before he set out, he was told, *That as to the affair of his brother, the world would judge of it according to his behaviour in this expedition; that if he acquitted himself well in it, he would be said to have freed his country from a tyrant; if otherwise, he would be looked upon as his brother's murderer.*

Iceles endeavours to prevent his landing in Sicily.

Whilst he was preparing to embark, there came letters from *Iceles* to dissuade him from it, as a dangerous and fruitless attempt; for that he would be intercepted in his passage by the *Carthaginians*, whom, for want of receiving succours in due time from *Corinib*, he had been forced to call in to his assistance against the tyrant: Whereupon *Timoleon* was forthwith ordered away with ten gallies.

Olymp. 108. 4. He arrives on the coast of Italy.

Being arrived on the coast of *Italy*, he received advice that *Iceles* had made himself master of the greatest part of *Syracuse*; that he had forced the tyrant into the citadel; and that the *Carthaginians* had orders to prevent his landing: And accordingly at *Rbegium* he found twenty gallies, which had been detached from their fleet for that purpose. They had likewise deputies on board from *Iceles* to acquaint him, That the affairs of *Sicily* being in a manner settled, there would be no occasion for his assistance; but however, that in case he would send home his gallies,

gallies, with the troops, he might come up himself to *Syracuse*, and share with him in his conquests. *Timoleon* had no views of this kind; but finding himself overpowered, he seemed to hearken to their proposal, and to submit to it as a case of necessity. However, he desired for form sake, and in order to justify his conduct at his return to *Corinth*, that what had passed privately between them might be declared in a more open manner before the people of *Rhegium*, as being common friends to both parties. But the leading men among them were in his interest; and this demand of his was a concerted thing between them, as a project for his escaping out of their hands. To carry on this design, an assembly was called, and *Timoleon*, and the Ambassadors, together with the captains of the *Carthaginian* gallies, were admitted to it. But the people, instead of entering upon the business for which they were convened, fell into tedious and trifling debates about other matters, and spun out the time, until nine of the *Corinthian* gallies got clear of the harbour, and put to sea; which *Timoleon* having secret notice of, found means to slip unobserved through the crowd, and having got on board the remaining galley, joined the rest of his squadron, and he landed at *Tauromenium* in *Sicily*, where *Andromachus* the governor received him with open arms, and joined with him in his design of freeing the

*He lands
in Sicily
by a stratagem.*

island. But few of the other towns as yet came in to him. They had a general distrust of all foreign commanders, having found by experience, that they had been allured by them with fair promises, and afterwards been more oppressed by them than by those from whom they pretended to deliver them. The *Syracusians* had a better opinion of him; at least they had no body else to depend on: And yet they had very little hopes of relief from him, whilst *Iceles* was in possession of the town, *Dionysius* of the citadel, and the *Carthaginians* of the harbour.

His success at Adranum.

His first scene of action was at *Adranum*, a small city below mount *Ætna*, where the inhabitants being divided, one party called in *Timoleon* to their assistance, and the other *Iceles*. The former was glad to take this opportunity of advancing further into the country; and the latter thought it so necessary to prevent him, that he immediately marched thither with a detachment of five thousand men. *Timoleon* arrived there at the same time with his whole strength, which amounted to no more than twelve hundred. However, taking advantage of the enemy, whilst they were fixing their tents, he fell upon them with great fury, and put them to flight, having killed three hundred of them, and taken double that number of prisoners, together with their camp, and all their baggage.

This

This prosperous beginning gave him great credit, and increased his followers; so that not only *Adranum*, but most of the other neighbouring towns submitted to him. *Mamercus*, tyrant of *Catana*, a man of great wealth and power, entered into an alliance with him; and the city of *Messina* at the same time declared for him. It likewise advanced his affairs at *Syracuse*; where *Dionysius* finding his case desperate, chose rather to give up himself and the citadel to him, as a man of honour and bravery, than to become a prey to *Icetes*, whom he despised for his behaviour in the late action. Accordingly, *Timoleon* sent four hundred men to take possession of the citadel; and they gained their entrance by stealth, and in small companies. They found there two thousand soldiers, whom *Dionysius* likewise gave up to them, together with a vast magazine of stores, and arms for seventy thousand men.

Olymp.
109. 1.
Other places submit to him.

Dionysius surrenders himself.

As to *Dionysius* himself, he was conducted out privately, and carried to *Timoleon's* camp; from whence he was transported to *Corinth*, where he became a public spectacle. People flocked from all parts to see the man who had made so much noise in *Sicily*, and whose name was become formidable even to *Greece*. But he appeared very easy and composed, and without any marks either of terror or of dignity. Instead of endeavouring to retrieve his affairs, he fell into a mean way of life, sauntering about

Olymp.
109. 2.
and is sent to Corinth

about in the shops and the shambles, drinking in taverns, or squabbling with lewd women in the streets. And at length, being reduced to great necessity, he is said to have taught school for bread.

Timoleon's further successes.

Timoleon having met with such success, *Iceles* was so terrified, that he had sent for a further supply of forces from *Africa*; and *Magon*, the *Carthaginian*, came over to him, with an hundred and fifty sail of ships, and sixty thousand men. Whereupon he blocked up the citadel, and marched in order to besiege *Catana* likewise, where *Timoleon* then lay. But, before he had made any progress there, he received advice that *Leon*, a *Corinthian*, who commanded in the citadel at *Syracuse*, had made a successful sally; that he had killed one part of the besiegers, and put the rest to flight; and that having taken *Acradina*, the strongest quarter of the town, he had added works to secure it, and to join it to the citadel. *Iceles* immediately returned to *Syracuse*; and *Timoleon* having lately received a supply of two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, from *Corinth*, soon followed him.

However, he had as yet no more than four thousand men to oppose to a numerous army: But there happened a lucky incident, which gave him great encouragement. Whilst he lay before the town, some of his *Corinthians* falling into company with a party of mercenaries

naries who served under *Icetes*, took occasion to expostulate with them upon their present alliance with the *Carthaginians*. They told them, that as they were of the same *Grecian* extraction with themselves, they ought to be engaged in the same interest; and reproached them with endeavouring to put *Syracuse* and all *Sicily* into the hands of those who were not only *Barbarians*, but the vilest and most inhuman sort of them, and such as they ought to unite against as their common enemy. The rumour of this discourse was soon spread about the camp; and it had such an effect upon *Magon*, that, for fear of being betrayed and sacrificed, he forthwith embarked his troops, and was gone so suddenly, that *Timoleon's* men, in a way of pleasantry, caused proclamation to be made, offering a reward to any who should bring tidings of the *Carthaginian* fleet. *Magon*, at his return home, being conscious of his misbehaviour, killed himself; and the people were so incensed at him, that they nailed his body upon a cross.

The Carthaginians quit Sicily.

Timoleon, to improve this advantage, made his disposition for attacking the town in three several parts of it; which he accordingly did the next day, and with such vigour and success, that *Icetes's* troops giving way, he carried it at the first assault; and *Plutarch* says, there was not one *Corinthian* either killed or wounded in it. The first thing he did upon this victory

Timoleon attacks Syracuse,

and gains it.

was

*Demolish-
eth the ci-
tadel,*

was to summon in the inhabitants to demolish the citadel, which he called *the nest of tyrants*. They soon levelled it with the ground, and from thence proceeded to pull down the palaces of their usurpers, to tear up their tombs, and to destroy every thing that might preserve any memorial of them. In the place where the citadel stood, *Timoleon* ordered courts of justice to be erected. But whilst he was thus endeavouring to give free scope to the laws, and to put the government upon the ancient footing, he found there were very few inhabitants left to enjoy the benefit of it. For what with their divisions among themselves, their wars with the *Carthaginians*, and the oppression of their governors, such numbers of them had been destroyed, and forced away, that the city was in a manner become a desert, and the grass grew in the streets. And this was the case of most of the great towns in *Sicily*. But as to *Syracuse*, the *Corinthians*, at the instance of *Timoleon*, and those few who remained there, re-peopled it. They sent to all the public assemblies of *Greece*, and into *Asia*, and the islands, to notify, that *Syracuse* having recovered its liberty, all such as were willing to go and settle there should be transported thither, and should have the lands equally divided among them. By this encouragement they got together a body of ten thousand; which with those who had fled, and were banished, and others who flocked in from all parts

*re-peoples
the city.*

parts to *Timoleon*, amounted in the whole to sixty thousand. This generous proceeding of the *Corinthians* is taken particular notice of, that when they had it in their power to make themselves intire masters of *Syracuse*, they contented themselves with the glory of saving and replenishing it, and of being a second time the founders of it.

Timoleon having thus far re-established the affairs of *Syracuse*, marched to the other parts of the island to free them likewise. At *Leontium* he obliged *Icetes* to renounce his league with the *Carthaginians*, and to demolish his forts, and then reduced him to the condition of a private man. And *Leptines* of *Appollonia* surrendering himself up to him, he spared his life, but sent him after *Dionysius* to *Corinth*.

Olymp.
109. 3.
He proceeds to
free the
rest of the
island:

But before he could root out all the remains of arbitrary government, the *Carthaginians*, to secure those places which were still in their interest, and to retrieve the disgrace of their last expedition, sent an army of seventy thousand men, with a fleet of two hundred sail, besides a thousand transport ships laden with chariots, engines of battery, and all kinds of provisions. These forces landed at the promontory of *Lilybaeum*, under the command of *Asdrubal* and *Hamilcar*, and occasioned such a general consternation, that *Timoleon* could raise but twelve thousand men to make head against them. *Plutarch* reduces them to seven thousand; and says, that even

Is opposed
again by
the Car-
thaginians.

even of that number, one thousand deserted him in their march.

Olymp.
101. 1.
*The battle
at the ri-
ver Cri-
mesus.*

However, he went on to give the enemy battle before they had got a thorough footing in the island; and coming up with them in their passage over the river called *Crimesus*, he ordered his horse to break into their ranks before they were well formed. But they were so exposed to the chariots, which were placed in the front, that *Timoleon* drew them off; and taking a side compass with his whole strength, attacked the enemy in the flank. After the first onset, there happened a sudden storm of thunder and lightning, wind, rain, and hail, which drove full in the face of the *Carthaginians*, and beat so furiously upon them, that they could neither see nor hear, nor stand in their ranks. And *Timoleon's* troops pouring in upon them whilst they were thus disordered, made a great slaughter among them, and put the main body to flight. Some, who had gained the plain, were overtaken, and put to the sword. Great numbers were cut to pieces as they were climbing the hills. They who made back to the river fell in among others who were coming over to them, and were promiscuously carried with them down the current. And others were plunged into little torrents and rivulets, which were occasioned by the violence of the storm, and the overflowing of the river, where they rolled about in the mire,

and

and were so encumbered with their heavy armour, that they were not able to disengage themselves, or to make any defence. In this manner their whole army was distressed on all sides; and every thing conspired to make it an entire defeat. There is some variation in the accounts that are given of this action, but not in the most material circumstances of it. There is likewise some difference as to the number of those who were killed and taken. According to the highest accounts of them, there were above ten thousand slain, besides three thousand who were natives of *Carthage*, of the best families and fortunes, and of the most approved valour: They were looked upon in the same light as the *Sacred Band* of *Pelopidas*, and went under the same appellation. There were also above fifteen thousand taken prisoners, together with the camp and baggage, and a great quantity of gold and silver plate, and other rich booty.

Timoleon
gains the
victory.

Timoleon, upon this victory, returned to *Syracuse*. But whilst he was endeavouring to perfect his scheme of government there, the seeds of tyranny, which had not been thoroughly rooted out in the other parts of the island, began to shoot up again. The cities of *Catana* and *Messina*, with their tyrants *Mamercus* and *Hippo*, had revolted from him; and *Iceles*, though he had been sufficiently humbled, took this occasion to join with them; and they invited the *Carthaginians* to come and make another effort. Accordingly

Further
attempts to
restore the
tyranny,

but defeated
by Timoleon.

cordingly seventy sail of ships were dispatched, under the command of *Gisco*, who likewise debauched some of the *Grecians* into his service. But this expedition had no better success than the former, and served only to hasten the putting an end to these wars. For *Iceles*, *Mamercus*, and *Hippo*, appearing again in arms upon this reinforcement, *Timoleon* pursued them one after another; and after he had killed several thousands of their followers, they were all three taken and executed. The wives and children of *Iceles* were likewise condemned and executed by the *Syracusians*; which was looked upon as an ungenerous part in *Timoleon*, that he did not interpose in their behalf. But it was the act of the people, and was said to be done by way of retaliation for the like treatment of the family of *Dion*, whose wife and sister, and infant son, *Iceles* had caused to be thrown alive into the sea.

Olymp.
110. 2.
*The public
liberty re-
stored.*

During these transactions of *Timoleon*, the *Carthaginians* sued to him for peace, and agreed, among other conditions, to renounce all leagues and associations with any of the *Sicilian* tyrants; which he considered as the most effectual means of suppressing them; and it succeeded accordingly. For soon after this treaty they were utterly destroyed, and the public liberty was restored.

Timoleon having finished this great work, divested himself of his authority, and chose rather

rather to live as a private man at *Syracuse*, with the pleasure of seeing so many thousands made happy in the enjoyment of the blessings he had procured for them, than to grasp at any further power in *Sicily*, or to return in triumph to *Greece*. He was infinitely beloved and honoured by the *Syracusians*, who, in memory of what he had done for them, made a decree, *That in all their future wars, they should have a Corinthian commander*. And so long as *Timoleon* lived they made no law or treaty, nor did any extraordinary act of government wherein he was not consulted. As to what remains to be said concerning him, it will fall in more properly with the account of his death, which happened two years later.

During the former part of these commotions in *Sicily*, *Philip* was gaining ground upon the *Illyrians*, and settling his conquests at home: But before the re-establishment of affairs in that island, he had carried his arms into *Thrace* and the *Hellespont*, among the *Athenian* colonies and confederates, and thereby given occasion to fresh disturbances, which should have been related in their due order of time; but I have chose rather to do it now by way of retrospect, than to break into the narration of what passed at *Syracuse*. In the first year of the 109th *Olympiad*, he marched into *Thessaly*; and having cleared out the remains of tyranny in the several cities there, he not only confirmed the *Thessalians* in

Timoleon
retires and
lives pri-
vate in
Syracuse.

his interest, but gained over many of their neighbours.

Philip's
design a-
gainst the
Cherfo-
nese of
Thrace.

He is op-
posed by
Diopithes

who is ac-
cused of
acting
without
orders.

Having strengthened himself in these parts, he went the next year into *Thrace*, where he had formed a design against the *Cherfonesse*. This *Peninsula* had, with some little interruption, been for many years in the hands of the *Athenians*: But *Cotys*, as being King of the country, had lately wrested it from them, and left it in succession to his son *Chersobleptes*. He not being able to defend himself against *Philip*, gave it back to the *Athenians*, reserving to himself only *Cardia*, the capital city. But *Philip* having soon after routed him of the rest of his dominions, the *Cardians*, for fear of falling again under the power of the *Athenians*, threw themselves into his protection. *Diopithes*, who was the chief of the *Athenian* colony lately sent to the *Cherfonesse*, considered this proceeding of *Philip* in supporting the *Cardians*, as an act of hostility against *Athens*; whereupon he invaded the maritime part of *Thrace*, and carried away a great deal of booty. *Philip* being at this time in the upper part of the country, was not in a condition to do himself justice: But he wrote to complain of it at *Athens*, as an infraction of the peace; and his creatures there were not wanting on their part to aggravate the charge against *Diopithes*, as having acted without orders, and taken it upon himself to renew the war. They likewise accused him of committing acts of piracy, and of laying their allies

allies under contribution. But whatever grounds there were for this part of the accusation, the government of *Athens* was principally to blame in it: For, having no proper fund for the war, they sent out their Generals without money or provisions, and left them to shift for themselves, and yet made them answerable for any miscarriages that should happen for want of their being better supplied. This was a great discouragement to the service, and put those who were employed in it upon pillaging and plundering in such a manner, as they would otherwise have been ashamed of. *Demosthenes*, in an harangue that he made upon the state of the *Chersonese*, undertook the defence of *Diopithes*. And although that might be the principal design of his speech, yet he entered into a great variety of other matter, and laid open so much of the present situation of affairs both in *Athens* and several other states of *Greece*, that it may be proper to give the reader a short account of it; and the rather, because it contains the substance of what *Demosthenes* has said in some of his other orations, in the same manner, and almost in the same terms, against *Philip*, and his partizans in the *Athenian* assembly.

Demosthenes defends him.

He urged to the people in behalf of *Diopithes*, that he had done nothing but what his necessities had forced him to, and that he had only followed the example of his predecessors, who had constantly laid the islanders, and other *Asiatick*

and in-
weighs a-
gainst
Philip

allies under contribution; and that they who paid it found their account in it, in having convoys to secure them from pirates, and otherwise to protect their trade. That instead of being questioned for using his industry to procure that subsistence for the troops, which he could not obtain from the government, they ought forthwith to send him a reinforcement, and to provide better for their pay. However, he told them, That whatever exactions or violences he had been guilty of, he was their officer, and it was always in their power to send for him home, and to punish him, as they found he deserved. But he told them at the same time, that this accusation was made use of only as an handle to divert them from inquiring into the motions and designs of *Philip*, who, with a powerful army in *Thrace*, and upon the *Helle-spont*, was ravaging their possessions, debauching their allies, and stirring up against them both the *Grecians* and *Barbarians*. That whilst he was engaged in these practices, he was to be looked upon as the first aggressor; and that they were not to think themselves secure, because he was not come up to the *Piræus*, nor was attacking them in *Attica*.

Among other arguments to induce them to make head against him, he told them they had more to apprehend from him than their neighbours had; and he explained it to them by an artful piece of flattery; *You must not imagine,*
said

said he, *that Philip will treat you in the same manner with the rest of the Grecians, and that he will content himself with barely making slaves of you. No; his design is to destroy and extirpate you. For he is sensible that a people, who have so long known what it is to command, will never bear servitude, and that you are incapable of doing it, if you would: He knows, that you would be always struggling to break your chains, and that you would give him more disturbance than all the rest of the world. And therefore you may look upon it as an undoubted maxim, that he can intend nothing less than your total ruin and destruction.*

From thence he proceeded to inveigh against the orators, for the treacherous part they had acted upon these proceedings of *Philip*; and he did it with great boldness and acrimony, by exposing their false reasoning, their false zeal, and their false courage. He told the people it was in vain to think of their being victorious abroad, so long as they nourished in their bosom these pensioners and creatures of their enemy; these domestic foes, who were as so many hidden rocks and shelves, upon which they must one day unavoidably suffer shipwreck. He went on to shew them, that the insolent behaviour of *Philip* towards them was wholly owing to these haranguers, who saved him the trouble of managing and undermining them, as he did the other states, with an appearance at least of bearing them good-will, and doing them good offices.

offices. He instanced in the *Theſſalians*, that though he had brought them under ſubjection, he had taken ſome pains to inveigle them into it, and had ſtrewed the way to it with flowers, by freeing them from their tyrants, and by reſtoring them to their ſeat among the *Amphiſtyons*. That he had drawn the poor *Olynthians* into his ſnare, by heaping his favours upon them, and had lulled them aſleep by his ceſſion of *Potidæa* to them. That he had at preſent got the *Thebans* under his dependance; but that he had thought it proper to gild their chains, by putting them in the poſſeſſion of *Bæotia*, by laying waſte the country of their enemies the *Phocians*, and by delivering them from a long and burdensome war. *But why*, ſays Demothe-
nes, *does he not think it worth his while to amuſe you with ſome ſuch marks of his complaiſance and his bounty? Why does he not endeavour to gain upon you by ſome real or pretended benefits? On the contrary, he infringes your treaties, breaks into your alliances, and ſeizes your poſſeſſions; and does it with an high hand, without ſo much as attempting to excuſe, or diſſemble it.* He tells them the reaſon of this difference in *Philip's* conduct with regard to them, was, becauſe he had no need of keeping any meaſures with them, or of ſaving appearances: For that he knew he had a party among them, who were always ready to plead his cauſe, and to juſtify all his proceedings. *Athens*, ſays Demothe-
Greece

Greece where a man may, with impunity, display his eloquence in defence, and even in praise, of the common enemy.

He expatiated further upon the base and ungenerous artifices of the orators, in prosecuting their fellow-citizens. *They, said he, who have no real concern for the welfare of the public, may, with ease and safety, censure, arraign, and condemn. They can always secure themselves from danger by their inexhaustible fund of flattery and dissimulation; by their daily shifting and changing their opinion, according to the different taste and humour of the people; and by disguising and concealing from them the weak and disorderly state of their affairs. The truly brave and zealous citizen he describes in another manner: That the only thing he has in view is the peoples interest; that, in order to promote it, he opposes their inclinations, combats their opinion, and makes no concessions to them out of complaisance; that he delivers his mind freely and openly, according to the best of his judgment; and makes himself accountable to them not only for the reasonableness of his advice, but likewise for the success of it. Demosthenes does not directly apply this character to himself; but it may be easily collected from what follows, that he thought it belonged to him. I know says he, fellow-citizens, as well as others, how to flatter, to accuse, to proscribe, and to practise all those other little arts of gaining credit with*

U 4

you;

you; but I have a soul above it. I have no avarice, nor ambition; my chief aim is to repeat and inculcate those truths, which, because they are distasteful to you, must therefore give my rivals the preference in your favour; and yet they are such as, if you would hearken to them, would give you the advantage over your enemies. It is to me a part unworthy of a good citizen, to study ways of rising on a sudden to the highest rank of men in Athens, when you are at the same time sinking to the lowest rank of men in Greece.

When he had thus endeavoured to open their eyes, and to free them from their dependence on the other orators, he pressed them to proceed forthwith to action. *It is my part, says he, to propose; it is yours to resolve, and to execute.* He concludes with exhorting them to supply the necessities of the state; to keep their troops on foot, and in good discipline; to dispatch Ambassadors to all parts, with instructions to communicate their resolutions, and to give notice of the common danger that threatened Greece; and thereupon to negotiate and conclude whatever should be thought requisite for the service of the common-wealth. And, above all, he advised them to shew no mercy to those who prostituted themselves for gain to the enemy of their country.

Whatever effect these remonstrances had for the present, *Philip* was not discouraged from making

making further attempts: And he was furnished with a pretence for it by the divisions which were now in *Peloponnesus*; and they were owing chiefly to the *Spartans*, who, having little to do in the late foreign transactions, were recovering their strength at home; and, according to their usual practice, as they increased in power, made use of it to insult and oppress their neighbours. The *Argives* and *Messenians* being at this time persecuted by them, put themselves under the protection of *Philip*; and the *Thebans* joining with them, they all together formed a powerful confederacy. The natural balance against it was an union between *Athens* and *Sparta*, which the *Spartans* pressed with great earnestness, as the only means for their common security; and *Philip* and the *Thebans* did all in their power to prevent it. But *Demosthenes* exerting himself upon this occasion, roused up the *Athenians*; and put them so far upon their guard, that, without coming to an open rupture with *Philip*, they obliged him to desist.

Philip takes advantage of the divisions in Peloponnesus.

Demosthenes spirits up the Athenians against him

This storm in *Peloponnesus* was no sooner blown over but another happened, which fell more immediately upon the *Athenians*; and that was an attempt upon *Eubœa*. *Philip* had long formed a design against this island, as being not only a rich acquisition, but an easy passage into the continent of *Attica*; and in order now to execute it, he had gained some of the

Philip's attempt upon Eubœa.

the principal men, who suffered him to throw in a body of *Macedonians*; by means whereof he demolished some places, and fortified others, and erected several petty tyrants, who acted in his name, and under his authority. *Plutarchus* of *Eretria*, or *Clitarchus* (as he is otherwise called) sent to let the *Athenians* know, that the island must be lost, if it were not immediately relieved: Whereupon they dispatched some few troops thither under the command of *Phocion*. This *Plutarchus*, upon their arrival, changed his opinion, and made head against them. However, *Phocion* was not discouraged; he gave him battle, and routed him; and having gained a signal victory, returned home. He was succeeded in the command by one *Molossus*, who was not equal to it, and suffered himself to be taken prisoner. But it does not appear that *Philip* prosecuted this war to any further advantage; so that the recovery of the island may be ascribed to *Phocion*.

*The island
preserved
by Pho-
cion.*

*His cha-
racter.*

He had, before this action, given several proofs of his courage and capacity; but he began now to distinguish himself as a General, and to bear a principal part in the affairs of the government. As he had talents very well suited to both these capacities, he did not approve the modern practice of allotting the civil power to one set of men, and the military to another, but was for having them united in the same persons, as they formerly were in *Solon*,

Aristides

Aristides and Pericles. He had studied philosophy under *Plato* and *Xenocrates*: And in oratory he was upon a level with the best speakers of his time. He was not so pompous and diffuse as they; but was better heard than most of them. His manner was plain and concise, strong and pointed, full of matter and good sense, and always to the purpose. When he was one day in the assembly observed to be very pensive, and his friends asked him the reason of it, *I am considering*, said he, *how to contract what I have to say.* And *Demosthenes*, who had a secret jealousy of him, was wont to call him, *The Pruning-hook of his Periods.* This brevity and simplicity in his diction, was of the *Spartan* kind; and he had still more of the *Spartan* in his manner of deportment. He had such a settled composure in his countenance, that he was never seen either to laugh or cry. He was grave and austere even to moroseness; insomuch that they who were strangers to him did not care to accost him. But this severity was more in his appearance than in his temper: For he was naturally very easy and conversable, humane and beneficent; and a great patron of the distressed, even of those who had most opposed him. His friends reproving him for pleading in behalf of an ill man, he told them, *The innocent had no need of an advocate.* In the camp he went very thinly clad, and generally barefoot; and he lived
at

at home with his family much in the same coarse hardy way. There is upon this occasion a remarkable saying of his wife, who was noted for her virtue and good house-wifery; and being visited by an *Ionian* woman of distinction, who shewed her all her jewels, embroidery, and other rich ornaments; *For my part*, said she to her, *My only ornament is my good man* Phocion, *who has commanded the Athenians now these twenty years.* He was not so happy in his son, who being inclined to luxury and excess, he sent him to *Sparta* to be put into a stricter way of education; and *Demades* reproached him with it publickly, as an attempt to introduce the *Spartan* manners and discipline. He certainly had a very bad opinion of the manners of his country, and would gladly have reformed them; but he could not do it otherwise than by his example; and that was of small force against so general a corruption. However, as to his own particular, it gained him an awe and attention from those who would not imitate him. It created such an opinion of him, that he was chosen General upon forty-five several expeditions, and always in his absence: For though he did not decline the service when he was called to it, he never put himself in the way of it. He was so far from making a servile court to the people, or soothing them in their follies, that he took all occasions of thwarting and opposing them;
and

Chap. III. *The Grecian History.*

and he would never give up a point which he thought necessary for the good or safety of the public. The oracle having, upon a certain occasion, told the *Athenians*, that there was one man in the city of a different opinion from the rest, and enquiry being made who this should be; *I*, said *Phocion*, *am the man; I am pleased with nothing that the common people say, or do.* Another time when he had delivered his opinion to them, and found that it was generally approved, *I wish*, said he, turning to his friend, *that what I have proposed be not wrong.* He was so tenacious in what he thought most adviseable, that he would rather suffer himself to be treated as a coward than enter into a war which did not appear to him to be just and necessary. There is an instance of this kind, when being pressed to engage the enemy at a disadvantage; *No*, said he, *you cannot at this time make me valiant, nor I you wise.* The truth is, he was naturally inclined to peace, and considered war no otherwise than as the means of procuring it. He endeavoured by several private negotiations, to put an end to the war with the *Macedonians*; and herein he seemed to act the part of a mediator: But the moderation and complaisance which he shewed in this correspondence with the enemies of his country created a suspicion of his being too well affected to them; and at last it cost him his life. He certainly was upon good terms with
Philip,

Philip, Alexander, and Antipater, who all successively esteemed and careſſed him, and would have loaded him with preſents; but he could not be prevailed upon to accept any. Upon this occaſion *Antipater* was wont to ſay, *I have two friends at Athens, Phocion and Demades; of whom the former will not ſuffer me to gratify him at all, and the other is never to be ſatisfied. Phocion*, upon the whole, was one of the wiſeſt and beſt ſort of men that *Athens* ever bred. But the ſteadineſs of his virtue, and the ſingularity of his manners, would not let him drive on with the current of the times he lived in; and *Plutarch* mentions it as his miſfortune, *That he came to the helm when the public bottom was juſt upon ſinking.*

Philip be-
ſieges Pe-
rinthus,

When *Philip* found his affairs advance ſo ſlowly in *Eubœa*, he thought fit to retreat, and marched back to *Thrace*, in order to diſtreſs the *Athenians* in thoſe parts, from whence they received a great part of their proviſions. With this view, in the laſt year of the 109th *Olympiad*, he laid ſiege to *Perinthus*, a ſtrong city upon the *Propontis*, and firmly attached to the *Athenians*. He inveſted it with an army of thirty thouſand men; and having raiſed his works to a great height, ſo as to command thoſe of the enemy, he made his aſſault with all kinds of battering engines. The inhabitants were no leſs active and reſolute on their part; ſo that when *Philip* had made a breach in the wall, which he thought ſufficient

to

to gain his entrance into the town, he found they had run up another wall within side; by means whereof, together with the natural advantage of the place, which rose up gradually in the form of a theatre, they made a vigorous defence, and held out until they were relieved from *Byzantium*.

Philip, to cut off this communication, divided his army, and marched one half of it to form the siege of *Byzantium*, leaving the other to carry on that of *Perinthus*. These violent proceedings gave a general alarm both in *Greece* and *Persia*. The lieutenants of the provinces near the coasts were ordered to assist the besieged with what forces they could spare. The islands of *Cbios*, *Cos*, and *Rhodes*, united in the same design; and the *Athenians* began now to exert themselves in earnest. *Demosthenes* had before endeavoured to awaken them out of their lethargy, and to convince them, that the first attack against *Perinthus* was an open violation of the peace: And they so far gave attention to him, that *Chares* was sent out with a fleet. But he was a bad man, and of a mean capacity; and as such, he was pitched upon by the creatures of *Philip* for this service. He behaved according to their expectations, and had so little credit with the allies of *Athens* upon the *Hellepont*, that they did not care to admit him into their ports. But the people now being grown more sensible of their danger, thought it necessary to appoint

and *By-*
zantium.

appoint some other commander, on whom they could better depend; and accordingly *Phocion* was ordered out with a fresh supply of forces.

He endeavours to justify his proceedings.

Philip had hitherto endeavoured, by many specious pretences, to cover his designs, and to keep measures with the *Athenians*: But when he found they had taken the alarm, and were arming so many others against him, he wrote them an expostulatory letter, wherein he charged them with the infraction of their treaties, and with many other injuries which he pretended to have received from them. It was full of complaints, reproaches, and menaces, and was drawn in a very masterly manner, with so much art and delicacy, with such a variety of facts, and such plausible reasoning upon them, and with such a spirit of majesty throughout the whole, that it may be looked upon as one of the finest pieces of antiquity. It was calculated for the use of the partizans at *Athens*, so as to furnish them with materials for pleading his cause in the assembly; and the intent of it was to try if it were yet too late to divert the people from pushing things to an extremity. The point that he laid the greatest stress upon was the engaging the *Persians* against him; and this he imputed to the *Athenians*. It does not clearly appear how far they were concerned in it: But it is certain, that, in order to check the growth of his power, *Demosthenes* had prepared the people for an alliance with *Persia*, and still pressed it; and *Pausanias*

sanias

sanias says, that the *Persian* troops which were employed on this occasion, were commanded by *Apollodorus*, an *Athenian*. From such circumstances as these *Philip* thought himself sufficiently warranted to remonstrate in the manner he did to the *Athenians*. He told them, *That, by this instance of their calling in the Persians, and that at a time when he was in peace with them, they had shewn more hatred and rancour against him than in cases of the most open and declared enmity between them; that they had acted in it contrary to all the rules of prudence and policy, and to the constant practice not only of their ancestors, but of themselves likewise.* And to this purpose he reminded them, that they had some time since passed a formal resolution, to invite him to act in conjunction with them and the other *Grecians* against the *Persians*, as *Barbarians*, and as their common enemy. His applying these appellations of *Barbarians* and foreigners to the *Persians*, was an artful way of disclaiming them with regard to himself, and of blending together the interests of *Greece* and *Macedonia*, as if they were inseparable. *Demosthenes*, to prevent the impressions this letter might make upon the people, endeavoured, by way of answer, to expose the fallacy of the arguments contained in it. They were founded wholly upon a presumption, that the *Athenians* were the aggressors: But it was notorious, that *Philip* was taking their places, intercepting

Demosthenes refutes him.

tercepting their provisions, attacking their allies, and making every day fresh incroachments upon them, and that in a time of profound peace, as he calls it, and before any measures had been taken by the *Athenians* to oppose him. This was the truth of the case; and that which *Demosthenes* thought it more necessary to convince the people of, than to go about to justify, or to refute the facts they were charged with. He told them, *The letter was wrote in a style not suitable to the people of Athens; that it was a plain declaration of war against them; that Philip had long since made the same declaration by his actions; and that by the peace he had concluded with them, he meant nothing further than a bare cessation of arms, in order to gain time, and to take them more unprepared.* From thence he proceeded to his usual topick of reproving them for their sloth, and for suffering themselves to be deluded by their orators, who were in *Philip's* pay. At the same time he advised them to change their Generals; for that they who had ruined their affairs, were not very likely to retrieve them. *Phocion* declared his opinion to the same effect concerning the Generals; and it was upon this occasion that he was appointed to succeed *Chares*.

*Phocion
succeeds
Chares in
the com-
mand.*

The *Byzantines* received him with great marks of confidence and friendship; and he, by acting in concert with them, soon obliged *Philip* to abandon

abandon his design both upon *Byzantium* and *Perinthus*. He also took some of his ships, recovered several places which he had garrisoned, ravaged the flat part of the country, and drove him out of the *Hellespont*. It is said that the siege of *Perinthus* was raised before by the *Per-
sians*; but whatever hand they had in it, the inhabitants of that place, as well as of *Byzantium*, ascribed their deliverance wholly to the *Athenians*, and testified it in the most solemn manner, giving them liberty to settle among them, and intermarry with them, and granting them greater privileges and immunities than their own citizens enjoyed. They also consecrated crowns, and erected statues to them. The inhabitants of the *Chersonese*, in token of the like deliverance, raised altars to the *Athenians*, and decreed to them a crown of gold. So terrible was the name of *Philip* grown to the people in these parts, that they thought they could never give sufficient proofs of their gratitude to those who had freed them from him. And as to himself, his disappointment in this expedition, with the loss of a good number of his men, was the greatest mortification he had hitherto received. This reduced him to his old artifice, of endeavouring to renew the peace with *Athens*: And he kept up the appearance of negotiating it for the next two years after the siege of *Perinthus*. But he was arming all the while, and making new infractions: and the

*He raises
both the
sieges,*

*and drives
Philip out
of the Hel-
lespont.*

subsequent account of his proceedings will shew that there was no way left of bringing things to a determination but by the sword.

Philip's
expedition
into Scy-
thia :

Without waiting the result of his last overture to the *Athenians*, he marched against *Atreas* King of *Scythia*, upon a pretence that he had not gratified him for the assistance he had given him in his wars against the *Istrians*. The *Scythians* gave him battle; but though they were far superior in number, he defeated them, and carried off a great deal of booty, which consisted chiefly of women and children, and cattle; and among the latter there were twenty thousand mares for breeding. In his return, the *Triballi* of *Mæsia*, pretending to a share of the spoil, disputed his passage; and thereupon ensued a sharp conflict, wherein his horse was killed under him, and himself so wounded, that he must have fallen into the enemy's hands, if he had not been rescued by his son *Alexander*, who was with him in this expedition, and gave this early token of what might one day be expected from him.

His over-
tures of
peace re-
jected at
Athens;

The peace in the mean time was under consideration at *Athens*; and the people were divided concerning it, according to the different sentiments of their leaders. *Phocion* was for accepting it, but was strongly opposed by *Demosthenes*; and his advice for rejecting it prevailed. When *Philip* found the *Athenians* would not treat with him, and that they were acting offensively

offensively against him, especially at sea, where they blocked up his ports, and put an entire stop to his commerce, he began to form new alliances against them, particularly with the *Thebans* and *Thessalians*, without whom he knew he could not keep open his passage into *Greece*. At the same time he was sensible that his engaging these powers to act directly against *Athens*, and in his own personal quarrel, would have so bad an aspect, that they would not easily come into it. For which reason he endeavoured underhand to create new disturbances in *Greece*, that he might take such a part in them as would best answer his views: And when the flame was kindled, his point was to appear rather to be called in as an assistant than to act as a principal.

whereupon he forms new alliances,

and creates fresh divisions in *Greece*.

These fresh commotions took their rise from the *Locri Ozolæ*, who bordered upon the *Phocians*, and were accused of the same act of profanation which they had committed in breaking up a piece of ground belonging to the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*: And this case was referred, in the same manner as the former was, to the *Amphictyons*, who, in order to form their judgment upon the matter in dispute, went to take a view upon the place, but were so insulted and attacked by the *Locrians*, that they were forced to fly for it. Hereupon both sides had recourse to arms, and there was all the appearance of a second *Holy War*. But it was

His designs promoted by Æschines

not carried on with the same zeal as the former; it was ended almost as soon as it began, and served only to advance *Philip's* authority in *Greece*. This was owing chiefly to *Æschines*, who was secretly his agent, and had, by his means, got himself to be deputed on the part of *Athens*, as one of the members in the present assembly of the *Amphictyons*. When he found the war went on so heavily, and that they, who, were to contribute towards it, were very backward in sending in their quotas, he proposed to the rest of the deputies, that the several states which they represented should either hire foreign troops, and tax themselves to pay them, or that, in order to save that trouble and expence, they should chuse *Philip* for their General. They readily swallowed the bait that was laid for them, and agreed to the latter of these proposals. Hereupon a formal embassy was sent to *Philip*, to demand his assistance in avenging the honour of the deity; and to notify to him, That the *Grecians* had, by their representatives in the council of the *Amphictyons*, chosen him their General for that purpose, with full power to proceed in the manner he should judge most proper.

Philip chosen General against the Locrians.

Philip did not want much persuasion to accept the offer of that, which he had so eagerly pursued, and which was, in effect, the completion of all his other designs. He immediately got his troops together, and began

his march: But instead of going on to chastise the *Locrians*, he made a sudden turn, and seized upon *Elatéa*, a capital city of *Phocis*, which was very well situated for awing the *Thebans*, of whom he began to grow jealous, and for preparing his way to *Athens*. But by so extraordinary a step as this, he fairly threw off the mask, and bade defiance to the whole body of the *Grecians*.

He seizes upon Elatéa.

The news of it arriving at *Athens* in the evening, the trumpets sounded the alarm, and the city was filled with terror and amazement. The next morning the assembly met, and all the Generals and orators assisted at it: But when it was expected that some of the members should rise to offer their advice upon the present exigency, every body sat mute and confounded. The crier made proclamation, and demanded, according to the usual form, *Who of them was disposed to speak?* No body yet offering, the same question was several times repeated, but still to no purpose. At length, in this general dead silence, *Demosthenes* rose up, and endeavoured to dispel their fears, and to animate them for their defence. The most immediate danger they apprehended from *Philip*, was his late alliance with the *Thebans*; and this was the point that *Demosthenes* laboured chiefly to clear up to them, and to make it appear that the *Thebans* were not so strongly attached to him as they imagined. For

The Athenians alarmed at it.

They are animated by Demosthenes.

if it were so, said he, we should not now have heard of his being at Elatêa, but in Attica. To which he added, That however the Thebans might before have been deluded by him, this last proceeding of his had more fully opened their eyes. It is true, said he, some part of them he has gained by money and artifice; and he has drawn down his troops to keep them in heart, and to intimidate the rest, who are the greatest part, and who have hitherto opposed him, and would still continue to do so, if they had any prospect of being supported. Wherefore he proposed, That all who were able to bear arms should march out of the city, and make a general rendezvous at Eleusis, as well to set an example to the rest of Greece for asserting the common liberty, as to shew the Thebans in particular that they were ready to protect and assist them. And in regard to that inveterate enmity and rancour, which had so long subsisted between Athens and Thebes, he advised the people to suppress it for the present, and not to revive the memory of past injuries, which, he told them, would only serve to hinder, or retard that union and good correspondence, which were now become so necessary for their mutual preservation. He further proposed, That Ambassadors should be sent to the several states of Greece, to make it a common cause; but especially, and in the first place, to the Thebans, as they were more immediately exposed, and as they were the barrier to Athens.

The

The assembly readily agreed to this advice of *Demosthenes*; and pursuant thereto, a decree in form was drawn up, with an additional clause, that a fleet of two hundred sail should be fitted out, to cruize near *Thermopylae*.

There being no time to be lost in this negotiation with the *Thebans*, Ambassadors were forthwith dispatched to them, with *Demosthenes* at the head of them; and they were met by others on the part of *Philip*. The principal of them was *Python*, who was a *Byzantine* by birth, and had been made a free citizen of *Athens*, but was now in *Philip's* interest. He was a very able and forcible speaker, and therefore was upon this occasion opposed to *Demosthenes*. The *Macedonians* were heard first, the preference being given to them as friends and allies. They set out with large encomiums upon *Philip*, and after a long recital of the many benefits and advantages the *Thebans* had received from him, and the many injuries and provocations they had received from *Athens*, they endeavoured to excite their gratitude on the one hand, and to fire their resentment on the other. They also tempted them with the hopes of booty, which, they told them, they should find in great abundance in *Attica*, and that they would at the same time prevent the ravaging their own country, and making it the seat of the war, which would be the necessary consequence of their entering into an alliance with *Athens*.

His negotiation with the Thebans.

Python opposes him.

Athens. Upon the whole, they proposed to them in the alternative, either that they should join with *Philip* in the invasion of *Attica*, or that they should sit still, and give him a free passage through *Boeotia*.

Demosthenes, by way of reply, used the same kind of reasoning with the *Thebans*, as he had done with the *Athenians*, to convince them of the necessity of proceeding against *Philip* as their common enemy: For that whatever words or pretences he made use of, his designs were too visible from his actions. He instanced particularly in the manner of his seizing upon *Elatéa*. He told them, *That in case he should succeed so far as to conquer Attica, Thebes would suffer in its turn; That he would go on from one city, and one province to another, and would never stop until he had made himself master of the whole.*

The *Thebans* were not very inclinable to enter into any engagements on either side: They had too lively a sense of the miseries they had undergone, especially whilst the wounds they had received in the *Phocian* war were still fresh upon them. But *Demosthenes* fired them to such a degree, that they were no longer masters of themselves. The force of his eloquence, upon this occasion, is said to have cast a mist over their understanding, to have carried them away like a whirlwind, and to have worked them up to a sort of enthusiasm: Insomuch that, laying aside all
fear

fear and gratitude, and other prudential considerations, they declared themselves for the alliance with *Athens*.

The Thebans enter into an alliance with Athens.

That which animated *Demosthenes*, next to his zeal for the public safety, was his having to do with a man of *Python's* abilities; and he some time after took occasion to value himself upon the victory he had obtained over him. *I did not give way*, said he, *to the boasting Python, when he would have borne me down with a torrent of words.* He gloried more in the success of this negotiation than of any other he had been employed in, and spoke of it as his masterpiece in politicks. It was certainly of the greatest importance to *Athens* at this time, when *Philip* seemed fully bent on her destruction, and when she had no other immediate prospect of relief, but from the gaining the *Thebans*. *Demosthenes* therefore, to do himself justice, put the people in mind of the danger they had escaped. He told them, *It was he who had dispersed that cloud which hung over the city, and that, by this instance of his unwearied diligence and zeal for the public, he had exceeded all that had been done by the greatest orators of former ages.* He was generally more modest than he appears to have been in this case: But it must be considered, that what he said upon this occasion was some time after, in his defence against *Æschines*, who, by his artful and invidious insinuations, had put him under a necessity of enumerating his services

Demosthenes values himself upon his success

vices to the common-wealth, and of setting them in the strongest light they would bear.

Philip's
artifices to
avoid
fighting.

When *Philip* found himself thus disappointed of the *Thebans*, he sued again to the *Athenians* for peace: But they saw his drift too plainly to trust him, and were too much exasperated to hearken to any terms of accommodation. However, he resolved to stand it out with them, and both sides prepared for battle. But before it came to action, he tried another stratagem; which was, by bribing the oracle, to terrify them with fatal omens and predictions concerning the event of it. *Demosthenes*, to prevent these warnings making any deep impression, treated them with the utmost contempt; and it was upon this occasion, that he charged the priests with *Philippizing*. He put the *Thebans* in mind of their *Epaminondas*, and the *Athenians* of *Pericles*, who, he told them, were governed by reason and good sense, and would not suffer themselves to be carried away by such idle superstitious fancies, which they looked upon only as a cloak for cowardice. The *Athenians* were so eager for the war, that they easily got the better of these frightful apprehensions; and *Demosthenes*, had, by his last treaty, gained such an ascendant both over them and the *Thebans*, that they submitted themselves intirely to his directions.

Accordingly,

Accordingly, they took the field, and encamped together near *Cheronêa* in *Bœotia*, where *Philip* met them with thirty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. He was somewhat superior to them in numbers, and more so in the goodness of his officers. He gave the command of the left wing of his army to his son *Alexander*, but, in regard to his youth, he placed the best of his officers about him; and the right wing he took to himself. In the *Grecian* army, the *Thebans* were on the right, and the *Athenians* on the left. At sun-rising the two armies joined battle, and behaved with such equal courage and bravery, that it was long before any impression was made on either side; until at length *Alexander*, exerting himself in an extraordinary manner, broke in upon the *Sacred Band* of the *Thebans*, and cut them to pieces; after which, the rest of that wing were easily routed. *Philip*, who had to do with the *Athenians*, forced them likewise to give way: But they soon recovered their ground; and *Lyficles*, who, in conjunction with *Chares*, commanded the *Athenian* troops, pushed forwards into the centre of *Philip's* army; where, imagining himself victorious, he cried out to his men, *Come on, let us pursue them to Macedonia.* *Philip* observing what passed, and that *Lyficles*, instead of attacking his phalanx in flank, when he had so fair an opportunity, went on a wild disorderly pursuit, said coolly, *The Athenians*

Olymp.
110. 3.
The battle
at Chero-
nêa.

Philip
gains the
victory.

do not know how to conquer. And thereupon he drew up his phalanx on a little eminence, from whence he poured down upon them, and taking them both in flank and rear, entirely routed them. It was upon this occasion that *Demosthenes* threw down his arms, and was one of the first who fled: And there is a ridiculous circumstance told of him, that in his flight his clothes catching hold of a bush, he took it for an enemy, and cried out for quarter. There were above a thousand *Athenians* killed in the action, and above two thousand taken prisoners; and the loss on the part of the *Thebans* was much the same.

His beha-
viour upon
it.

Philip was transported with this victory beyond measure; and having drank to excess at an entertainment, which he gave upon that occasion, went into the field of battle, where he insulted over the slain, and upbraided the prisoners with their misfortunes. He leaped and danced about in a frantic manner, and with an air of burlesque sung the beginning of the decree, which *Demosthenes* had drawn up as a declaration of the war against him. *Demades*, who was in the number of the prisoners, had the courage to reproach him with this ungenerous behaviour, telling him, *That fortune had given him the part of Agamemnon, but that he was acting that of Therites.* He was so struck with the justness of this reproof, that it wrought a thorough change in him; and he
was

was so far from being offended at *Demades*, that he immediately gave him his liberty, and shewed him afterwards great marks of honour and friendship. He likewise relieved all the *Athenian* captives, and without ransom; and when they found him so generously disposed towards them, they made a demand of their baggage, with every thing else that had been taken from them; but to that *Philip* replied, *Surely they think I have not beat them.* This discharge of the prisoners was ascribed in a great measure to *Demades*, who is said to have new modelled *Philip*, and to have softened his temper with the *Attick Graces*, as *Diodorus* expresses it: And *Philip* himself acknowledged upon another occasion, that his frequent converse with the *Athenian* orators had been of great use to him in correcting his morals. *Justin* represents his carriage after the battle in a very different light; as that he took abundance of pains to dissemble his joy; that he affected great modesty and compassion, and was not seen to laugh; that he would have no sacrifice, no crowns nor perfumes; that he forbad all kind of sports; and did nothing that might make him appear to the conquerors to be elated, nor to the conquered to be insolent. But this account seems to have been confounded with others, which were given of him after his being reformed by *Demades*. It is certain, that after his first transport was over, and that he began to recollect himself, he shewed great
humanity

*He renews
the peace
with
Athens.*

*His severity to-
wards the
Thebans.*

humanity to the *Athenians*, and that, in order still to keep measures with them, he renewed the peace. But the *Thebans*, who had renounced their alliance with him, he treated in another manner. He, who affected to be as much master of his allies as of his subjects, could not easily pardon those who had deserted him in so critical a conjuncture. Wherefore he not only took ransom for their prisoners, but made them pay for leave to bury their dead. It is further said, that either by the sword, or by banishment, he cleared the city of the principal men who had stood in opposition to him, and confiscated their goods; that he recalled all such as had been banished for espousing his interest, and made them judges and magistrates, with a power of life and death over those who had been the authors of their exile. After these severities, and after having placed a strong garrison over them, he granted them a peace.

C H A P. IV.

From the battle of *Cheronæa*, to the death of *Philip* of *Macedon*.

Containing the space of one year.

THE generality of the *Athenians* were not much dejected upon this overthrow, especially since *Philip* had shewn so much moderation towards

towards them: But they who saw further into the consequences of it, were not very easy in their present situation. *Isocrates* was more particularly affected with the loss and disgrace they had suffered; and was so apprehensive that *Philip* would make some further use of his victory, that he chose rather to starve himself to death, than to survive the liberty of his country: Which is a sufficient proof that his intimacy with *Philip*, which has before been mentioned, was with an intent to serve the common-wealth; and that his end was good, though he was mistaken in the means of attaining it, and in the man he had to deal with. The truth is, he was not conversant enough in public affairs. His proper province was his school, wherein he succeeded beyond any man of his time; and he got so much money by it, that he was obliged to build a galley, and maintain it at his own charge. *Plutarch* condemns him for his unactive and recluse way of life, and sets him in a very pedantick light: That he sat poring at home in his study, when every body else was in arms: That, instead of sharpening his sword and his spear, and brightening up his helmet, he was adapting, ranging, and polishing his words and sentences; and that he was three *Olympiads* in composing * one single oration. *How*, says he, *would that man have been terrified at the clattering of weapons, or the routing of a phalanx, who was so afraid of*

*Isocrates
starves
himself.*

* *His panegyrick.*

suffering one vowel to clasp with another, or to pronounce a word where the syllables were uneven? But notwithstanding this piece of raillery, he was generally respected and admired, not only as a perfect master in his profession, but as a thorough well-wisher to his country.

The conduct of Demosthenes approved.

The enemies of *Demosthenes* were not wanting on this occasion, to accuse him as the author of their misfortunes. But the generality of the people still retained their former good opinion of him, and not only acquitted him of all that had been laid to his charge, but restored him to the management of their affairs, and put themselves wholly under his care and guidance, to provide for their future security. As a further instance of their regard for him, they pitched upon him as the most proper person to speak the funeral oration upon the interment of the slain. Nothing could be a stronger mark of their approbation of his services, than the appointing him, who had advised the war, to celebrate the memory of those who were killed in it. And it is mentioned to the honour of the people likewise, that, contrary to their usual practice, they had distinguished so rightly in the present case of *Demosthenes*, and judged of him according to the zeal and intention of his service, and not according to the success.

Lyficles put to death.

This defeat was attributed chiefly to the ill conduct of the Generals, *Lyficles* and *Chares*; the former whereof the *Athenians* put to death,

at

at the instance of *Lycurgus*, who had great credit and influence with the people, but was a severe judge, and a most bitter accuser. *You, Lyficles*, said he, *was General of the army; a thousand citizens are slain, two thousand taken prisoners; a trophy has been erected to the dishonour of this city, and all Greece is enslaved: You had the command when all these things happened; and yet you dare to live, and view the light of the sun, and blush not to appear publicly in the forum; you, Lyficles, who are born the monument of your country's shame.*

This *Lycurgus* was one of the orators of the first rank, and free from the general corruption which then reigned among them. He managed the public treasure for twelve years with great uprightness, and had all his life long the reputation of a man of honour and virtue. He encreased the shipping, supplied the arsenal, drove the bad men out of the city, and framed several good laws. He kept an exact register of every thing he did during his administration; and when that was expired, he caused it to be fixed up to a pillar, that every body might be at liberty to inspect it, and to censure his conduct. He carried this point so far, that, in his last sickness, he ordered himself to be carried to the senate-house, to give a public account of all his actions; and after he had refuted one who had accused him there, he went home and died. Notwithstanding the austerity of his temper, he was a great encourager of the

*Character
of Lycurgus the
orator.*

stage; which, though it had been carried to an excess that was manifestly hurtful to the public, he still looked upon as the best school to instruct and polish the minds of the people: And to this end, he kept up a spirit of emulation among the writers of tragedy, and erected the statues of *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*. He left three sons, who were unworthy of him, and behaved so ill, that they were all put in prison; but *Demosthenes*, out of regard to the memory of their father, got them discharged.

*And of
Chares.*

It does not appear that *Chares* underwent any prosecution for his share in this action; though, according to his general character, he deserved it as much or more than his colleague. For he had no talents for command, and was very little different from a common soldier. *Timotheus* said of him, *That instead of being a general, he was fitter to carry the General's baggage*. His person indeed was of that robust kind of make; and it was that which served in some measure to recommend him to the people: But he was more a man of pleasure than fatigue. In his military expeditions, he was wont to carry with him a band of music; and he defrayed the expence of it out of the soldiers pay. Notwithstanding his want of abilities, he had a thorough good opinion of himself. He was vain and positive, bold and boisterous; a great undertaker, and always ready to warrant success; but his performances seldom answered; and hence it was, that

that *Chares's promises* became a proverb. And yet as little as he was to be depended on, he had his partizans among the people, and among the orators, by whose means he got himself to be frequently employed, and others to be excluded who were more capable. As he had no true merit of his own, he could the less bear it in those who had: This was the grounds of his malicious charge against *Iphicrates* and *Timotheus*; and the manner in which it was carried on, has already been mentioned as a reproach to the common-wealth. In short, he was a bad man as well as a bad officer, and did very little real service or honour to his country, either at home or abroad.

This year, being the last of the hundred and tenth *Olympiad*, died *Timoleon*. He had some time before lost his sight, which he bore very patiently; and the *Syracusians*, to alleviate his affliction, and to shew their respect and gratitude to him, went in great numbers to visit him, and carried with them all the strangers in those parts, to entertain them with the sight of their great benefactor. Notwithstanding his blindness, he continued to the last to give his attention to the public. When any matter of moment came before the assembly, he was conducted to the theatre in a sort of car, and was ushered in with the joyful acclamations and benedictions of the people; and when he had delivered his opinion, they were always determined

Olymp.
110. 4.
*The death
and cha-
racter of
Timo-
leon.*

by it. He was buried at the charge of the public, with great pomp, and with a general lamentation; and anniversary games were instituted to do honour to his memory. That which endeared him so much to the *Syracusians*, besides the great things he had done for them, was his living and dying among them as their common father, and as a native of *Sicily*, without regard to the honours and applause that he might have received upon his return to *Greece*. But he was a wise and moderate man, as well as valiant and fortunate; he knew where to stop, and how to enjoy the fruits of his conquests. There is hardly an instance of any other *Grecian*, who, after such success, went quietly to his grave, without exposing himself further, so as to fall a sacrifice either to his own ambition, or to the insolence and ingratitude of his countrymen. *Plutarch* observes a remarkable difference between the achievements of *Timoleon* and those of his contemporaries: That in those of *Timotheus*, *Agessilaus*, *Pelopidas*, and even of *Epaminondas*, who was the pattern that *Timoleon* copied after, there was a certain stiffness, labour and struggling, which took off from the merit and lustre of them; but that those of *Timoleon* were like the poetry of *Homer*, and the painting of *Nichomachus*, which, besides the strength and beauty, that they had in common with others, were more free and easy, more graceful and more masterly.

We can never too much admire and extol the

easy progress that he made with an handful of men in *Sicily*, by driving out the tyrants, dispersing the numerous fleets and armies of the *Carthaginians*, and taking *Syracuse*, one of the strongest cities of the world, and which had so long withstood all the power of *Athens*, though it must be confessed, that it was not so well fortified, nor so well defended now, as in the time of the *Peloponnesian* war. But though his actions were so generally applauded, it happened once, that two of the *Syracusians*, who were popular speakers, brought a charge against him for some part of his conduct as General; and one of them demanded, that he should give security for his appearance; which the people were highly offended at, as thinking that, in his case, the ordinary forms of justice ought to be dispensed with. But he would not suffer himself to be exempted from a due observance of the laws, which he had taken so much pains to enforce against others. However, when the matter came to be heard, he treated it as a piece of calumny; and instead of going about to refute it, he only thanked the gods that they had granted his request; for that he had lived to see the *Syracusians* now at liberty to say whatever they thought fit. He left them in full possession of the liberty both of speaking and acting; and they enjoyed it about twenty years, until the ill use they made of it gave rise to the tyranny of

Agathocles, who brought them again into their former condition.

Philip
proposes an
expedition
against
Persia,

and is de-
clared
Captain-
General.

He divor-
ces Olym-
pias.

Marries
Cleopatra

The battle of *Cheronæa* was so decisive, that from thence we may date the downfall of the liberties of *Greece*. For though *Philip* did not pursue his advantage so far as might naturally have been expected; yet the terror of his arms kept the whole country in awe, and paved the way to its more entire subjection. The point which he had in view, and which he had long formed in his thoughts, was an expedition against *Persia*: And as this was not easily to be carried on without the assistance of the *Grecians*, he engaged them under a pretence of revenging the wrongs they had received from the *Barbarians*, to join with him in it, and got himself to be declared their Captain General; which was a principal motive with him in this undertaking.

But whilst he was making the necessary preparations for this war, he was diverted from it by the affairs of his family. He suffered great uneasiness with his wife *Olympias*, who was of a turbulent, jealous, and revengeful temper, and had also given him strong suspicions of her chastity; insomuch that, though there was no formal proof against her, he made it a pretence to divorce her, and married *Cleopatra*, a very beautiful young woman, and niece to *Attalus*, one of his principal officers. *Attalus*

was transported with the honour done to his family, and being heated with wine at the marriage feast, said publicly, *The Macedonians ought now to invoke the gods, that the new Queen might bring Philip a lawful successor.* Alexander, who was before disgusted at the treatment his mother had met with, was now more thoroughly provoked at that which so nearly concerned himself. *What!* said he, *Do you then take me for a bastard?* And in a rage threw his cup at him; which *Attalus* returned. *Philip*, who sat at another table, was so incensed at what had passed, that he drew his sword, and run at his son, as the disturber of the feast; but being lame, he fell down, and gave the company time to interpose. But *Alexander* was not to be pacified; they had much ado to keep him from destroying himself. He was so far from submitting himself to his father, that he rallied him upon his fall. *In troth*, said he, *the Macedonians are mighty well fitted with a General to conduct them out of Europe into Asia, who is not able to go from one table to another without danger of breaking his neck.* With this sarcasm he quitted the room, and retired to *Illyrium*, having first carried his mother to *Epirus*. But this affair was afterwards made up by means of *Demaratus*, a *Corinthian*, who being in great credit and confidence with *Philip*, made him sensible that he had gone too far in his resentment against his son, and thereupon was sent to bring him back.

*Quarrels
with his
son Alex-
ander.*

Philip,

The marriage of his daughter Cleopatra.

Philip, soon after this accident, met with another of the same kind, which proved more fatal to him. This happened upon the marriage of his daughter *Cleopatra* with *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, and brother of *Olympias*. *Philip*, to add to the solemnity of the nuptials, and to do himself honour upon his intended expedition, which he had still very much at heart, made a most magnificent entertainment, and invited all the most considerable men of *Greece*, taking this opportunity to testify his gratitude for their having chosen him their General. The several cities from whence they came were not wanting on their part to compliment him on the occasion, and to flatter his vanity: They vied with one another in sending him crowns of gold; and *Athens* was not less zealous and devoted to him than the rest. The next day after the feast, there were public shews to be exhibited, and *Philip* went in great pomp to assist at them, being dressed in a white robe, and his nobles and guards attending him in the form of a procession. There were carried before him twelve images of the gods, of exquisite fine workmanship; and a thirteenth was added, which was more splendid than the rest, and was to represent himself as one among the number of the deities. But in the height of the solemnity, amidst the joyful acclamations of a numberless crowd of spectators from all parts, and just as his statue entered the theatre,

theatre, the ceremony was interrupted by *Pausanias*, a young *Macedonian* nobleman. He had some time before been grossly affronted by *Attalus*, who, after he had made him drunk, carnally abused him, and then prostituted him to others. *Pausanias* made his complaint to the King, and demanded justice: But *Philip* did not care to hearken to an accusation against the Queen's uncle. The young man renewed his suit, and was so importunate for redress, that at last *Philip*, to pacify him, gave him a commission of the first rank in his guards. *Pausanias* did not look upon this as a satisfaction for the injury he had received; and though he stifled his revenge for some time, he took the present occasion of executing it in the most public manner upon the person of the King. *Philip* had ordered his guards, both before and behind, to keep at a proper distance from him, so as to leave him room enough to appear more conspicuously to the people; and as he marched alone in that intermediate space, *Pausanias* made up to him, drew his dagger and stabbed him, and left him dead upon the spot.

Philip
killed by
Pausanias

Pausanias had horses ready for his escape, and had like to have succeeded in it; but one of his feet being hampered in a vine, he was taken and cut to pieces. *Olympias* is said to have provided the horses for this purpose, and was looked upon not only as privy to the murder, but as the chief promoter of it. Neither was

Olympias
accessary to
the murder

Alexander

Alexander himself quite free from suspicion. But his mother was so far from concealing the part she had in it, that she affected to make it public, and was only afraid lest the proofs should not appear strong enough against her. The very night she went to assist at the King's funeral, she caused a crown of gold to be put upon the head of *Pausanias*, whilst he was hanging upon a cross. Some days after she buried him, and erected a tomb for him, and appointed an anniversary-day to be kept in honour of his memory. She likewise consecrated the dagger with which he committed the fact. Then she turned her rage against *Cleopatra*, for whom she had been divorced; and having murdered her infant child at her breast, caused her to be hanged. From these and several other instances, which might be given of her cruelty and revenge, it may easily be believed, that she was more than consenting to the assassination of the King, and that she made use of the resentment of *Pausanias* to satisfy her own.

The manner in which the news of Philip's death was received at Athens.

The news of *Philip's* death was a joyful surprise in *Greece*, and particularly in *Athens*, where the people crowned themselves with garlands, and decreed a crown to *Pausanias*. They sacrificed to the gods for their deliverance, and sung songs of triumph, as if *Philip* had been slain by them in battle. But this excess of joy did ill become them: It was looked upon as an ungenerous and unmanly insult upon the
ashes

ashes of a murdered Prince, and of one whom they just before had revered, and crouched to in the most abject manner. These immoderate transports were raised in them by *Demosthenes*, who having the first intelligence of *Philip's* death, went into the assembly unusually gay and chearful, with a chaplet on his head, and in a rich habit, though it were then but the seventh day after the death of his daughter. From this circumstance *Plutarch*, at the same time that he condemns the behaviour of the *Athenians* in general upon this occasion, takes an handle to justify *Demosthenes*, and extols him as a patriot, for not suffering his domestick afflictions to interfere with the good fortune of the common-wealth. But he certainly might have acted the part of a good citizen with more decency and composure, and more to the honour of himself and his country.

This accident happened to *Philip* in the forty-seventh year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign; during which time he was constantly in action, until by degrees he changed the whole face of affairs, both in *Greece* and *Macedonia*. The steps by which he advanced were firm and sure, but withal so slow and im-
preceptible, that he seemed to have no great share of ambition; and yet in reality nobody had more; but nobody had it so much under command, nor knew so well how to disguise it.

It

A. M.
3668.
Olymp.
111. 1.

His character.

It was varnished over, as his actions in general were, with false colours; it had the appearance of justice and humanity, and beneficence to mankind, in protecting the innocent, redressing the injured, and extirpating tyranny: But his acts of this kind were only plausible methods of advancing his own grandeur and authority, and of subverting the public liberty, under a pretence of defending it.

He was admirably well qualified for the part he acted. For he had an equal mixture of fire and phlegm, which served to correct each other: The first put him upon forming great designs, and the latter conducted him in the execution of them; so that his success was owing chiefly to this due temperament, which made him cautious without fear, and bold without rashness. When he had taken his point, he kept it always in view, and concealed it from every body else. For he trusted no body further than was necessary; he had favourites, but no confidants. He was his own minister, his own General, and his own Treasurer; and as he had all the capacity, vigilance, and activity, which these several offices required, he was entirely master of his own schemes, and of the execution of them. Which *Demosthenes* takes notice of as a particular advantage that he had over the *Athenians*, by being so secret in his deliberations, and so uncontrolled in his actions. And the case was much
the

the same in the other republicks, where matters of the most secret importance were canvassed and debated in their popular assemblies, the resolutions taken upon those debates were made public, and the hands of those who were to execute them, were tied up; and by these means they generally lost their effect, especially with regard to *Philip*, who knew so well the constitution of *Greece*, and the use that was to be made of such a method of proceeding.

He looked upon all means of attaining his ends to be justifiable; and he had expedients of all kinds, and for all occasions. He knew all the different ways that were to lead him to his mark; but he generally chose that which was most dark and intricate, and out of the common road. He loved feints and stratagems for the pleasure of deceiving; and he valued himself less upon the success of a battle, than of a negotiation: For which reason he seldom employed force, until his artifices failed him. And yet when he found himself obliged to have recourse to arms, no body behaved with more bravery and intrepidity, nor with better conduct. *Plutarch* therefore bears too hard upon him, when speaking of him by way of comparison with *Epaminondas*, he says, He had none of the principal virtues of that great man, and, among his other defects, mentions his want of courage. But there does not appear to be the least

least foundation for this charge; and it has been refuted by his greatest enemy, *Demosthenes*, who describes him with his eye out, his collar-bone broke, his hand and his leg maimed; and then adds, That he had seen this *Philip* thus wounded from head to foot, still ready to throw himself into the midst of dangers, and to sacrifice the rest of his body in the further pursuit of glory.

He infused the same spirit into his soldiers, who were so animated by his example, and so inured to action, that he could always depend on them. He had also a way of gaining their affections: He would call them his comrades, and treat them otherwise with great familiarity; and he did it in such a manner, as neither to lessen his authority, nor relax the discipline. They were grown so hardy and expert under him, that the *Macedonian* troops were reckoned at this time almost as much superior to the *Grecians*, as the *Grecians* were to the *Persians*. These were the men whom *Clytus* afterwards reproached *Alexander* with, when he told him, *It was his father's troops, by which he had conquered.* *Alexander* was too sensible of the truth of it; and it cost the old man his life.

If *Philip* had been equal in other respects to what he was in the field, he had made a glorious figure: But his tricks and subterfuges, and deep dissimulation, his gross bribery, treachery

chery and breach of faith, which make up the main of his character, have cast such a shade over his real good qualities, that they are hardly to be distinguished, and have given occasion to call even his military virtues in question. But in that respect he was undoubtedly superior to all the captains of his time: And he had otherwise great talents. He had a fine understanding, with a strong and clear judgment; great prudence and foresight; great variety of learning and other acquired knowledge. He spoke and wrote with great ease, propriety and dignity, but with too much art and subtilty: For there was design and insincerity in every thing he said, whether he were in jest, or in earnest. He always promised more than he intended to perform; and he had as little regard to his oath as to his promise. To this purpose he had a saying, *That children were to be cheated with play-things, and men with oaths.* And yet notwithstanding this impious maxim of his, he made a great shew of religion; and it was that which gained him his first footing in *Greece* in the *Phocian* war. Among his other arts of hypocrisy, by which he imposed upon the world, we may reckon that of his being attended every morning by a servant, to put him in mind of his mortality. His friendships were governed wholly by his interest: They were only mercenary engagements, that he had

entered into with bad men, and for bad ends; and when they had served his purpose, he had done with them. This was the case of most of his agents who sold their country to him; he paid them their price, and then discarded them; for he loved the treason, but not the traitor: Of which there was a memorable instance in his treatment of the two magistrates, who betrayed *Olynthus* to him. When they found themselves universally scouted and contemned for that act of treachery, and even by the common soldiers in his own army, they applied to him for protection and redress; but he gave them a very short answer, and a very cutting one; *O!* said he, *You must not mind what such blunt fellows say, who call every thing by its own name.* He had a particular faculty of setting two friends at variance, and by that means of getting into their confidence. And this was his main artifice in the carrying on his designs against *Greece*, by sowing jealousies, fomenting quarrels, and playing one state against another; and when he had, by these methods, broke into their alliances, and separated their interests, the remaining part was not difficult. His hardest task was with the *Athenians*, with whom he was continually either fighting, or treating: And though they had, until his time, the reputation of a more refined wit than their neighbours, and more sagacity, penetration and attention to

to their interests; yet he found means to amuse and confound them, to delude and infatuate them, to corrupt and divide them.

He was not so taken up in the pursuit of his ambition, but that he found time for his pleasures, wherein he indulged himself in a very dissolute and licentious manner; and in this part of his life, he acted openly, and without reserve. He loved riot and drunkenness, and intemperance of all kinds, and encouraged them so much in others, that he was surrounded with a set of lewd parasites and debauchees, players, buffoons and pantomimes, who engrossed all his favours, and shared all his bounty; but amidst these excesses, he had, or affected to have, some sense of shame; so that when he had committed any acts of violence or injustice, he would easily bear reproof, and often repair the injury. There was a woman who put herself in his way, after he had been sitting long at table, and demanded justice of him. He heard her case, and determined against her. *Then, said she, I will appeal. What? From your King?* said Philip. *And who is it you would appeal to?* To Philip, *when he is sober*, she replied. Whereupon he examined the affair over again, finding he had given a wrong judgment, and made a new one in her favour. Another woman had long solicited an audience of him upon a like occasion; and be-

ing put off from time to time, with a pretence that he was not at leisure, she could bear no longer, but said to him, *If you have not time to do me justice, cease to be King.* He was so far from resenting her manner of reproaching him, that he immediately redressed her grievance; and from thence forwards he became more exact in giving audience to his subjects. There was another instance of a good sort of man, whom he was advised to banish, for having spoken ill of him; *No,* said *Philip*, *Let me consider first, whether I have not given him occasion for it.* And being afterwards informed, that he had never given him any mark of his favour, and that he was in bad circumstances, he relieved him. When the man had tasted of his bounty, he changed his note, and spoke as much in his praise: Which gave occasion to *Philip* to make another reflection, *That Kings have it in their own power to be beloved or hated.* He has given several other proofs of his *swallowing injuries*, as *Longinus* calls it; and some remarkable instances of his clemency and forbearance have been already mentioned in the recital of his actions.

Thus by a mixture of some good qualities, with a great many bad ones, he accomplished his ends, so far at least, that he had thoroughly opened the way to the destruction of the liberties of *Greece*, and laid the foundation of all his
son's

son's glory. And if the actions of each of them be duly weighed, it will be found, that *Philip's* part was the more difficult of the two. For it was certainly easier to conquer *Asia* with the assistance of the *Grecians*, than to break the power of the *Grecians*, who had so often beat the *Asiatics*. Wherefore we may venture to pronounce, That though *Alexander* was the greater conqueror, *Philip* was the greater man. However, they were both formed for the task they undertook. If *Philip* had lived to pass over into *Asia*, his artful and deliberate valour would not, in all likelihood, have had so good an effect there as the heroick ardour and impetuosity of his son, which bore down every thing that opposed him, and which carried him on with such rapidity through the whole body of the *Persian* empire. But however *Philip* might have succeeded in that expedition, it seems pretty extraordinary, that he should think of entering upon it, before he had made a more entire conquest of *Greece*, which was certainly his original plan, and the point in which all his other views centered: And his success at *Cheronéa* had given him the fairest prospect he ever had of subduing the whole country. It had put the *Athenians* and the *Thebans* so far in his power, that they were expecting every hour to have his yoke imposed on them.

As to the *Spartans*, though they had avoided entering into the quarrel, it is hardly to be supposed they would tamely have submitted to him. After the battle, he wrote them an haughty letter, to try how they would relish his authority : But in answer to it, their King *Archidamus*, the son of *Agésilas*, sent him word, *That if he measured his shadow, he would find it no bigger after his victory than it was before.* The answer they sent him to another letter of the same kind, was, *Dionysius to Corinth.* However, they were not in a condition singly to make head against him; and the other subordinate states were so weak and disunited, and withal so indolent and remiss, that there was no immediate appearance of forming any considerable league against him. But whether he thought the *Grecians* were still too formidable for him, to act in open defiance of them; and that his shew of moderation and humanity, and his arts of insinuation were easier and safer methods of gaining further ground upon them; or whether he really contented himself with the having humbled them, and with the honour of presiding in their great council, and of leading them forth to battle under the title of their General, it is certain, that he did not pursue his first scheme of conquest against them, nor make use of the advantages that he had then in his hands. He had still left them in a condition

to

to recover their former liberty, if they had had any remains of their former spirit: But that was so broken and decayed, that they became an easy prey to his successors.



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Ægialeæ,

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